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INDEX

Adams, John, 203, 204, 252, 254, 256.

Adams, Thomas, 108,109.

Addison, Rev. Henry, 97, 101, 105, 122, 189.

Alison, Rev. Francis, 75, 83.

Allan, Rev. John, 224.

Allen, Rev. Bennett, 97, 101, 122, 189.

Andrews, Rev. John, 258.

Andrews, Robert, 201, 251, 295, 298.

Andrews, Rev. Samuel, 238.

Andrews, Rev. Scovil, 279, 280.

Andros, Gov. Edmund, 12, 13.

Apthorp, Rev. East, 31, 32, 34.

Asbury, Rev. Francis, 266, 267.

Auchmuty, Rev. Samuel, 11, 49, 50, 63, 79, 80, 148, 160, 301.

Baldwin, Rev. Ashbel, 238.

Baltimore, Lord Frederick, 92, 96, 98, 99.

Bracken, John, 251.

Barnett, Rev. John, 126, 127.

Barton, Rev. Thomas, 72, 158.

Bass, Rev. Edward, 10, 159, 259, 296, 302, 305, 308, 310.

Beach, Rev. Abraham, 161,180, 205, 231, 280.

Berkeley, Bishop George, 23, 223.

Berkeley, Rev. George, 223, 224.

Bernard, Gov. Francis, 11, 15.

Bisset, Rev, John, 298.

Blackwell, Rev. Robert, 14, 159.

Blair, Rev. James, 13, 106, 107.

Blair, John, 251.

Bland, Richard, 111, 112, 116, 117, 119, 120.

Bland, Rev. William, 114, 115, 121.

Boardman, Rev. Richard, 266.

Boucher, Rev. Jonathan, 47, 93, 97, 99, 100, 101, 102,103, 104, 105, 117, 118, 122, 130, 189, 192, 227, 259.

Bowen, Rev. Penuel, 276, 277.

Braxton, Carter, 201, 242.

Briggs, Rev. Hobart, 127, 128.

Bryan, George, 83.

Ball, John, 207.

Bullman, Rev. John, 137.

Burrows, William, 300.

Burton, Dr. Daniel, 57, 62, 126, 127.

Camm, Rev. John, 47, 91, 110, 112, 113, 115, 121, 203.

Caner, Rev. Henry, 28, 41, 44, 59, 60, 158, 198.

Chandler, Rev. Thomas B., 3, 16, 28, 38, 41-44, 46-48, 50-52, 54, 55, 58-67, 77-81, 85-87, 93, 114, 118, 121, 130, 134, 139, 141, 143, 144, 147, 148, 151, 152, 158, 161, 165, 182, 202, 206, 212, 218, 229, 230, 235, 240, 242, 243, 255, 268, 306, 318, 323.

Carter, Landon, 111, 112.

Chase, Samuel, 103, 104, 192.

Chase, Rev. Thomas, 105.

Christ Church, Philadelphia, 73, 88, 150, 172, 173, 196, 244, 246, 324.

Chauncy, Rev. Charles, 52, 53, 55, 145, 146.

Church of England, 13, 31, 40, 46, 51, 70, 85, 132, 144, 184, 195, 228, 231, 232, 248, 266, 267, 269, 270, 319, 321, 323.

Claggett, Rev. Thomas J., 158, 266, 308, 310.

Clark, Rev. Richard S., 238.

Clinton, Gov. George, 252.

Coke, Rev. Thomas, 265, 267, 270.

College of New Jersey, 13.

College of Philadelphia, 13, 14, 44, 48, 71, 73, 75, 87, 148, 163, 164, 165, 188, 191, 230, 302.

Columbia College, 164, 282.

Congregationalist, 1, 2, 13, 15, 32, 41, 42, 43, 94, 95, 143, 145, 146, 147, 170, 221, 235, 240, 271, 276, 314, 317, 326.

Constitutional convention, 282, 283.

Continental Congress, 150, 159, 160, 165, 173, 245, 246.

Convention, 45, 48, 49, 51, 67, 74, 77, 79, 91, 114, 175, 185, 188, 203, 204-206, 233, 234, 236, 240, 241, 242-244; General Convention 1785, 246-249 ; 250, 253-262; General Convention 1786, 263-264; 270-272, 275, 278, 288, 289-294; General Convention 1789, 295-304; 308, 309, 320, 321, 322, 323, 326.

Cooke, Rev, Samuel, 77, 158.

Cooper, Rev. Myles, 44, 46,

55, 81, 91, 94, 95, 96, 147, 148, 158, 224, 235.

Cooper, Rev. Robert, 136.

Cornwallis, Archbishop Frederick, 39, 67, 144, 215.

Coxe, Trench, 295, 300.

Cradock, Thomas, 258.

Craig, Rev. George, 70.

Cramp, Rev. John, 127, 128.

Creighton, Rev. James, 267.

Cutler, Dr. Timothy, 3.

Dalcho, Rev. Frederick, 132.

Danbury, Rev., 77.

Dartmouth College, 15.

Declaration of Fundamental Rights and Liberties, 186, 187, 190, 192, 193, 196, 197.

Dent, Rev. Hatch, 275, 276.

Dibblee, Rev. Ebenezer, 279, 285, 307.

Dickinson, John, 83.

Dissenters, 23-25, 33, 46, 51, 54, 83, 111, 121, 139, 141, 167, 171, 172.

Dobbs, Gov. Arthur, 124, 125.

Duane, James, 180, 245.

Duche, Rev. Jacob, 71, 150, 158, 180, 260.

Dulany, Daniel, 112.

Dulany, Walter, 98, 101, 117, 189.

Dutch Reformed, 15.

Dwight, Rev. Daniel, 277.

Earl of Shelburne, 50.

Ecclesiastical Courts Bill, 98, 99, 119.

Eddis, William, 123.

Eden, Gov. Robert, 97, 99, 100, 117.

Elliot, Benjamin, 15.

Emperor Constantine, 53, 314.

Enabling Act, 239.

Ewing, Rev. John, 165.

Fauquier, Gov. Francis, 107.

Ferguson, Rev. Colin, 238, 298.

Fogg, Rev. Daniel, 211, 212.

Franklin, Benjamin, 74, 76.

Fundamental Principles, 196, 197, 198, 199, 205, 208.

Furneaux, Rev. Philip, 146.

Gantt, Rev. Edward, 103.

Gantt, Edward, Jr., 157, 204, 222.

Garden, Rev. Alexander, 131.

Garrettson, Rev. Freeborn, 267.

Gatch, Rev. Philip, 267.

Gates, Rev. Thomas, 186.

Gibson, Bishop Edmund, 112.

Giles, Rev. Samuel, 16.

Gordon, Rev. John, 101, 189.

Graves, Rev. John, 162, 199.

Grenville, George, 35, 36.

Griffith, Rev. David, 181, 207, 232, 244, 251, 252, 261, 263, 265, 273, 274, 284, 286, 288, 295, 298, 309.

Gwatkin, Rev. Thomas, 114, 115, 118, 121.

Hamersley, Hugh, 95, 96, 98.

Hamilton, Alexander, 148, 283.

Hare, Bishop Francis, 19.

Harvard College, 13.

Haskins, Rev. Thomas, 269.

Hayter, Bishop Thomas, 30, 36.

Henley, Rev. Samuel, 114, 115, 118, 121.

Henry, Patrick, 111, 168, 203, 245, 252.

Hewitt, Rev. Richard, 114, 115, 121.

Hinchcliffe, Bishop John, 265.

Hooker, Richard, 177.

Hopkinson, Francis, 262, 263, 295, 300.

Horne, Rev. George, 228.

Horrocks, Rev. James, 108, 109, 112, 113, 115, 203.

Hubbard, Rev. Bela, 44, 57, 222, 303, 304, 312.

Humphreys, James, 88.

Inglis, Rev. Charles, 44, 47, 55, 81, 120, 130, 147, 148, 154, 158, 165, 179, 214-216, 235, 301.

James, Rev., 103.

Jarratt, Rev. Devereux, 11, 266.

Jarvis, Rev. Abraham, 44, 179, 182, 211, 213, 214, 222, 224, 236, 271, 272, 303, 304.

Jay, John, 252, 253, 254, 255.

Jay, Peter, 61.

Jefferson, Thomas, 108, 109, 309.

Johnson, Rev. Samuel, 3, 10, 14, 16, 26, 28, 30, 31-34, 36, 38, 41-44, 46-50, 55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65-67, 78, 80-81, 87, 91, 120, 134, 141, 143, 144, 152, 202, 212, 218, 255, 271, 306, 318.

Johnson, William S., 57, 58, 164, 282, 284, 285, 293.

Johnson, Sir William, 11, 31, 50, 63, 82, 83, 213.

Johnston, Samuel, 258.

Kean, John, 207.

Kilgour, Bishop Robert, 224, 225.

King George, III, 27, 161, 218, 291.

King William, III, 5, 227.

King's Chapel, 12, 13, 41.

King's College, 10, 13, 14, 26, 41, 91, 142, 163, 164, 255.

Laud, Archbishop William, 17, 315.

Laurens, Henry, 12, 15, 140.

Leaming, Rev. Jeremiah, 44, 161, 182, 212, 213, 215, 216, 222, 271, 282, 284, 285, 292, 293, 302, 312.

Lee, Arthur, 120.

Lee, Richard Henry, 12, 168, 169, 203, 204, 252-254, 256.

Leslie, Rev. Alexander, 132.

Letters of a Westchester Farmer, 148, 165.

Livingston, William, 42, 53, 55, 255.

Lord Blandford, 219.

Lord Bute, 35, 38.

Lord Egremont, 30.

Lord Halifax, 27, 30, 40.

Lord Hillsborough, 112.

Lord North, 39, 144.

Lord Northington, 111.

Lord Shelburne, 219.

Lord Willoughby of Parkam, 34.

Love, Rev. David, 101.

Lowe, Rev. John, 239.

Lowth, Bishop Robert, 40, 58, 144, 161, 219, 221, 267.

Loyalist, 148, 150, 153, 158, 159, 167, 212, 214, 238, 245, 261, 266, 301,

Marshall, Rev. John Rutgers, 210, 211, 232, 293.

McKean, Rev. Robert, 44, 46, 55, 77, 94, 95, 96.

Madison, James, 168, 169, 283.

Madison, Rev. James, 164, 201, 308, 309.

Magaw, Rev. Samuel, 14, 71, 195, 265, 300.

Malbone, Godfrey, 55, 57, 213.

Mansfield, Rev. Richard, 271, 285.

Markham, Archbishop William, 215, 217, 218, 265.

Marshall, John, 168.

Martin, Gov. Josiah, 129.

Martyn, Rev. Charles, 133, 134.

Mason, George, 169.

Maury, Rev. James, 111.

Mayhew, Rev. Jonathan, 32, 145.

Moir, Rev. James, 124.

Moore, Archbishop John, 157, 219, 220, 222, 223, 256, 264, 265, 308.

Moore, Rev. Benjamin, 215, 216, 232, 238, 301, 302.

Morris, Robert, 173.

Moss, Bishop Charles, 265.

Murry, Rev. Alexander, 158, 180, 229.

Nelson, William, 47, 112, 113, 117.

Newcastle, Duke of, 17, 18, 19, 38, 40.

Niell, Rev.Hugh, 74, 98.

Nonjurors, 224, 226, 227, 261, 271, 291.

Norman Conquest, 314.

Ogden, Rev. Uzal, 205, 266.

Osbaldistone, Bishop Richard, 36.

Ogilvie, James, 108-109.

Orthodox Clergy Act, 125, 126, 129.

Paca, William, 103, 104, 190, 191, 192.

Page, John, 245, 251.

Palmer, Rev. Solomon, 61.

Parker, Rev. Samuel, 182, 198, 199, 211, 232, 238, 242, 249, 259, 272, 280, 290, 291-293, 302, 312.

Parson's Cause, 109, 112.

Penn, Gov. John, 70, 87.

Penn, Thomas, 70, 71, 72, 73, 87.

Peters, Richard, 246.

Peters, Rev. Richard, 44, 48, 49, 50, 67, 71, 73, 75, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 88, 89, 148.

Petrie, Bishop Arthur, 225.

Pettigrew, Rev. Charles, 208, 266, 277.

Pickney, Charles C., 12, 207, 245.

Pilmoor, Rev. Joseph, 239,

266, 269, 298.

Pitt, William, 34.

Pollard, William, 196.

Porteus, Bishop Beilby, 308.

Presbyterian, 2, 42, 67, 75, 76, 86, 87, 98, 119, 129, 143, 145, 165, 168, 176, 255, 287.

Privy Council, 37, 38.

Provoost, Rev. Samuel, 180, 205, 245, 260, 261, 263, 265; Bishop, 272, 273, 275, 280, 288, 289, 292, 293, 295, 296-301, 303, 305, 308, 324, 325.

Punderson, Rev. Ebenezer, 61.

Purcell,Rev. Henry, 245, 278, 279, 287, 288.

Queen's College, 15.

Randolph, Peyton, 108.

Read, Jacob, 207, 245.

Reed, General Jacob, 191.

Regulator Remonstrance, 135.

Rhode Island College, 15.

Robinson, Rev. William, 107.

Rosse, Rev. John, 93.

Ruff, Rev. Daniel, 267.

Rutlege, Hugh, 12, 207.

Rutlege, John, Jr., 140, 288.

Saint Michael's Church, 136, 137, 163, 245, 278.

Saint Philip's Church, 163, 207.

Sancroft, Archbishop William, 227.

Schism, 260, 293.

Scoville, Rev. James, 238.

Scott, John Morin, 42, 53, 55, 255.

Seabury, Rev. Samuel, Sr., 3.

Seabury, Rev. Samuel, 44, 55, 81, 147, 148, 149, 161, 165, 182, 212, 213-229, 232, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243, 247, 249, 250, 253, 261, 262; Bishop, 265, 269, 271-280, 285, 289, 291-304, 307-308, 310, 312, 317, 324, 325.

Secker, Archbishop Thomas, 10, 21, 27, 29, 32, 33-43, 60, 66, 67, 99, 143, 144, 146, 325.

Sharpe, Gov. Horatio, 93, 94-98, 117.

Shelton, Rev. Philo, 238.

Sherlock, Bishop Thomas, 17-18, 29-30, 49, 131.

Shield, Rev. Samuel, 252.

Skinner, Bishop John, 224, 225, 229, 230, 272.

Smith, Rev. Robert, 207, 262, 288, 301, 302, 303.

Smith, Bishop Thomas, 20.

Smith, Rev. William, 14, 44, 48-50, 71, 73-75, 78-89, 164-165, 181, 188-190, 194, 197, 206, 225, 229-232, 240-241, 244, 254, 258, 259, 260, 293-295, 297, 300, 301-302, 305, 310.

Smith, William, 42, 53, 55, 67, 255.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 5,6, 8, 12, 32, 43, 57, 59, 60-64, 71, 72, 74, 82, 89, 91, 94, 126-128, 145, 151, 159, 172, 180, 213, 229, 279.

Stamp Act, 36, 157, 134, 144.

Stewart, Rev. Alexander, 128.

Stiles, Rev. Ezra, 140, 145, 146, 325.

Stuart, Charles Edward, 291.

Stuart, Rev. John, 180.

Tennant, Rev. William, 170, 171.

Terrick, Bishop Richard, 36-40, 63, 65, 77, 78, 87, 99, 129, 144, 218, 325.

Thomson, James, 277.

Tillotson, Archbishop, William, 21.

Trinity Church, Boston, 198.

Trinity Church, New York, 10, 49, 79, 120, 148, 163, 172, 180, 254, 301, 324.

Tryon, Gov. William, 11, 125, 126-130.

Vandyke, Rev. Henry, 238.

Vasey, Rev. Thomas, 267, 269.

Vestry Act, 124, 166.

Viets, Rev. Roger, 279, 280.

Walker, Rev. Francis, 275, 276.

Walpole, Horatio, 17, 18, 40.

Walpole, Sir Robert, 17, 19.

Warrington, Rev. Thomas, 111.

Washington College, 165, 189.

Washington, George, 117, 118, 169, 245.

Watson, Bishop Richard, 219.

Watters, Rev. William, 267.

Weeks, Rev. J. Wingate, 10.

Weems, Mason Locke, 157, 204, 222.

Wesley, Rev. Charles, 268.

Wesley, Rev. John, 22, 265, 266-268, 270.

West, Rev. William, 181, 194, 195, 258, 286, 287.

Wetmore, Rev. James, 61.

Whatcoat, Rev. Richard, 267.

White, Rev. William, 14, 148-150, 173, 175-182, 185, 189, 194-199, 204, 207, 210, 214, 231, 234, 241-243, 245, 248, 250, 260, 264, 265; Bishop, 269, 272, 273, 275, 280, 282, 284, 286, 287-289, 292, 293, 295, 296, 300, 301, 303-305, 308, 310, 312, 317, 324, 325, 326.

Whitefield, Rev. George, 22, 89, 138, 139.

Whittingham, William, 178.

William and Mary College, 13, 47, 91, 107, 110, 114, 163, 164, 201, 309.

Willie, Rev. William, 115, 121, 203.

Wilson, Rev. Hugh, 16.

Wolsey, Cardinal Thomas, 315.

Woodmason, Rev. Charles, 11, 131, 134.

Wright, Rev. Richard, 266.

Yale College, 3, 13.

Zubly, Rev. John J., 140.

CONTENTS

Page

INDEX ii

TABLE OF CONTENTS xi

LISTS OF ILLUSTRATIONS xii

BIBLIOGRAPHY xiii

PREFACE xxvi

PART I. THE EPISCOPAL CONTROVERSY 1761-1775

Chapter

I. THE ECCLESIASTICAL CLIMATE 1

II. THE AMERICAN ZEALOTS 41

III. PENNSYLVANIA RESISTANCE 70

IV. MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA OPPOSITION 91

V. CAROLINA AND GEORGIA ATTITUDES 123

VI. THE ANGLICAN DILEMMA 143

PART II. THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL SOLUTION
1782-1789

VII. THE AFTERMATH OF WAR 156

VIII. ECCLESIASTICAL REORGANIZATION 184

IX. CONNECTICUT'S SCHEME 210

X. IMPENDING SCHISM 236

XI. DIFFERENCES RESOLVED 282

XII. MITRE WITHOUT SCEPTRE 314

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

Churches in Colonial America 1750-1770 2

Anglican Clergy Licensed for America 1761-1775 4

S.P.G. Missionaries Licensed for America 1761-1775 .. 6

Colonial Parishes in Connecticut 56

Colonial Parishes in New Jersey 69
Courtesy of Dr. Nelson R. Burr

Episcopal Clergy in America in 1785 158

Duche Portrait of Bishop Samuel Seabury 237

Portrait of Bishop William White 311

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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PREFACE

The Anglican episcopate in colonial America has been the subject of two scholarly works. In 1902, Professor Arthur Lyon Cross' The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies gave considerable attention to the various attempts to settle a bishop in America. For sixty years this was the standard work on the subject. Then in 1962, Professor Carl Bridenbaugh's Mitre and Sceptre gave new emphasis to the personalities, tactics, and politics of the Dissenters who opposed an Anglican episcopate in America. In view of these two works, it is logical to ask why another study of the subject is needed.

To answer the question, it should be noted that Professor Cross was primarily interested in the pro-episcopal forces in England and America, and Professor Bridenbaugh in the anti-episcopal Dissenters. Neither author pays much attention to the anti-episcopal Anglicans in America. Cross showed how the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, founded in 1701, exerted considerable pressure for an American bishop. A plan for an American bishop seemed close to fulfillment in Queen Anne's reign but her sudden death in 1714 shattered hope for its completion. After the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty, the English government never again seriously considered an American bishop in the colonial period. It was feared that the issue would disturb the political equilibrium which became established in England under the leadership of Sir Robert Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle.

Professor Cross recorded the opposition of Horatio Walpole in 1750 to a proposal for an American bishop made by Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London. His reason was political inexpediency. The Whigs were in power in England. Their allegiance to the House of Hanover and their loyalty to religious toleration gained for them the support of the Dissenters. It was almost certain that government support of an American episcopate would seriously disturb that political alliance. In the 1760's and 1770's the revival of the American episcopate was the result of the joint interest of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Secker, and the President of King's College in New York, the Reverend Samuel Johnson. Cross recognized that opposition to the episcopal scheme emerged in Virginia, but he was not particularly concerned with the overall Anglican climate of opinion in the other colonies during the controversy. He gave more attention to Jonathan Mayhew in his attack upon the S.P.G. in 1763 and Charles Chauncy and his efforts to refute the Reverend Thomas B. Chandler's Appeal to the Public in Behalf of the Church of England in America in 1768. Both Mayhew and Chauncy expressed the traditional Anglican versus Dissenter conflict.

Professor Cross argued that the episcopal issue was not settled in the colonial period. There was no bishop in America in 1775. The ordination vows administered to candidates for Holy Orders in England included an oath of allegiance to the king. Thus all candidates from America were barred from ordination if they expected to serve in America. The separated American churchmen had to grapple with this problem and resolve it or die of attrition. Furthermore, Cross neither asserted nor implied that the episcopal controversy was a major cause of the American Revolution. He did, however, clearly recognize that the conflict between Anglican and Dissenter over the episcopal issue in the 1760's and 1770's inflamed emotions and added fuel to the heated disagreements between the Americans and the British government.

Professor Carl Bridenbaugh goes well beyond Cross in stressing the Anglican-Dissenter conflict. He argues that the New England Dissenters viewed the Anglicans who petitioned for and promoted an American bishop as agents in a carefully devised conspiracy to subvert the rights, liberties, and freedoms which the Dissenters enjoyed in America. The activities of the Anglican clergy at the Elizabeth Town conventions of 1766 and 1767 gave substance to the Congregationalist fear of bishops. The plan for a bishop publicized in Dr. Chandler's Appeal was viewed by the New England Congregationalists as evidence that a "plot" existed which threatened their freedoms. The Anglican clergy in the New England, New York, and New Jersey area were looked upon as subversive agents. Moreover, Bridenbaugh contends that there was a very real possibility that the British government might permit a bishop for America. The Congregationalists responded to the leadership of the Reverend Ezra Stiles of Newport, Rhode Island, the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, and the Reverend Charles Chauncy of Boston, Massachusetts in opposing an American episcopate. These leaders, with their brethren in the other colonies and in England, organized a formidable opposition to the episcopal threat and were largely responsible for its defeat. Thus, Dissenter resistance to the episcopate was a major cause for the American Revolution.

Bridenbaugh's point of view naturally required him to focus upon the New England area where the Dissenters were a majority. Their ideas and opinions were expressed more completely and articulately there than anywhere else. It was the combined effort of this group and their colleagues in England that brought about the defeat of the episcopal scheme in the 1760's and 1770's. Bridenbaugh ends his treatment of the problem of an American episcopate in 1775. The New England Congregationalists certainly felt more secure from any episcopal encroachments after 1775, but as Cross pointed out, the outbreak of the war did not solve the problem. It is, therefore, a natural step to examine the degree of opposition to an American episcopate after the Revolution, and to inquire under what conditions and terms the problem was resolved.

It is apparent that Cross and Bridenbaugh have both contributed significant works on the subject of an American episcopate. However, the attitude of the American Anglicans toward a resident bishop obviously deserves further study. The omission of this critical phase of the total question obscures a basic question: did the American Anglicans want a bishop? If they did, what did they do to secure one? If they resisted the settlement of a bishop in America, how and why did they oppose it?

The efforts of the Reverend Dr. Samuel Johnson of Connecticut and New York and the Reverend Dr. Thomas B. Chandler of New Jersey in behalf of an American episcopate does not necessarily mean that they expressed the opinion of all American Anglicans. Nor is it safe to assume that the clergy and laity felt the same way about the issue. In the 1760's and 1770's there was no one Anglican in colonial America with authority to speak for the entire American Anglican communion. To determine the attitude of the American churchmen toward the proposed episcopate, it is necessary to give the Anglican establishments from Maryland to Georgia more attention than they have previously received. In each of these colonies the Anglican church was established by law and supported by taxation. The churchmen were probably a majority in most of these colonies. Since an American episcopate would most certainly affect them, it is important to know what they thought and how they felt about it.

The locus of Anglican strength in America was in the Maryland and Virginia area. Approximately one half of the

Anglican clergymen serving the thirteen colonies were located in these two colonies. The parishes of Maryland were much sought after by outside Anglican clergymen. In neither Virginia nor Maryland was it necessary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to supply men or finances in the 1760's and 1770's. It is essential that this segment of the American Anglican church receive appropriate consideration in any estimate of the episcopal problem in America. If a bishop or bishops had been sent to America, mere logic would dictate that either or both of these colonies were possible locations for an episcopal residence. Therefore, the attitude of the resident Virginia and Maryland Anglicans, clergy and laity, is very important.

The Elizabeth Town conventions of 1766 and 1767 were fundamental in the promotion of an episcopal scheme, but they too need to be reexamined to determine whether or not the plan was unanimously supported by all the clergy who attended from five northern and middle colonies. The emergence of a pro-episcopal plan from the conventions does not necessarily mean that everyone who attended was in agreement. Furthermore, it would be helpful to know the attitude of the laity in the northern Anglican churches.

It is, therefore, the purpose of this study to explore the internal activities of the American Anglicans to discover who resisted the episcopal scheme of Dr. Johnson and Dr. Chandler. In so doing, the extent, motivation, and impact of the resistance is analyzed from inside the communion to to determine why and how the proposed episcopate was thwarted. To uncover the attitude of the Anglicans in general toward a resident bishop each colony in which the churchmen were active is examined, but the focal point is the Maryland-Virginia area where Anglicans were most numerous. Many of the ideas, opinions, and attitudes expressed by the American churchmen about bishops in the 1760's and 1770's contributed to the solution of the episcopal problem in the 1780's. The reorganization of the Protestant Episcopal Church was completed in 1789 and it included a House of Bishops. For more than one hundred and fifty years the Anglican church in America had served without a resident bishop, yet within seven years after the Revolution bishops were obtained. A major change obviously had taken place in the church, and the steps taken to procure bishops in the postwar years were a vital part of the solution to the episcopal problem. The successful resolution of the episcopal issue in the face of continuous opposition produced an ecclesiastical revolution.

PART I

THE EPISCOPAL CONTROVERSY

1761-1775

CHAPTER I

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CLIMATE

The Anglican church in colonial America experienced considerable expansion in the period 1760 to 1775. Its record of growth and service was continuous from the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown. For a century and a half its numbers and influence grew, and in 1760 the Anglican church was the closest rival to the largest religious body in America: the Congregationalist.[1] In the 1760's the Anglicans increased their number of churches by slightly over thirty percent while the population for the same period grew approximately twenty-five percent.[2] The vitality which stimulated this progress was evident in 1760. In the expansion of the church American churchmen were playing an increasingly significant role. This vigor was expressed in different ways and in varying degrees in the several colonies, and in some instances produced significant developments. The relationship of the Anglican church in America to the established church in England aided the former's development in many ways, but it also inhibited it in others.

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[1] Anson P. Stokes, *Church and State in the United States* (3 vols.; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), I, p. 165.

[2] *United States Bureau of Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D. C., 1960), p. 756.

The expansion of the colonial Anglican church is measureable in terms of new churches established. Between 1750 and 1760 there were twenty-one new Anglican churches built, but in the 1760's ninety new edifices were constructed.[3] This sharp rise in the number of churches equalled the pace of Presbyterian expansion and almost paralleled the Congregationalists. Furthermore, the Anglicans were represented in all thirteen colonies with their heaviest concentration in Maryland and Virginia. The Congregationalists were most numerous in New England, but outside that area they were represented in only three colonies. There were Presbyterian churches in eleven colonies, yet the center of their strength was in the middle colonies.[4]

	1750	1760	1770
Anglican	289	310	400
Baptist	132	240	350
Congregational	465	575	675
Dutch Reformed	79	105	125
German Reformed	90	135	175
Lutheran	138	190	225
Presbyterian	233	300	390
Roman Catholic	30	47	54
Total	1456	1902	2394

The marked advance assured the Anglicans of their position as a major religious body and enabled them to extend the influence and membership of their church in spite of the keen competition which existed among all the religious bodies.

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[3] Edwin S. Gaustad, *Historical Atlas of Religion in America* (New York: Harpers, 1962), p.5, and Appendix B, p. 167.

[4] *Ibid.*, p.167.

The colony in which Anglican churches were built fastest was Connecticut. There were thirty churches in Connecticut in 1761, but a survey made in 1774 at the direction of the General Court reported forty-seven Anglican churches or chapels and twenty congregations which met in court, town, or school houses.[5] A few dramatic conversions of Congregationalists to Anglicanism sparked this advance in Connecticut. The most notable converts were Dr. Timothy Cutler, President of Yale; Samuel Johnson, formerly a tutor at Yale; and Thomas B. Chandler, a student of Johnson's. Samuel Seabury, the elder, was also a convert and he became pastor of the first Anglican church in New London in 1732.[6] These conversions greatly increased the prestige of Anglicanism in New England, and in time this group provided the most zealous advocates of an American episcopate.

In Maryland at least ten new churches were erected during this decade, and several chapels in the parishes that were large enough to warrant them. Virginia, too, added at least nine new churches.[7] North Carolina adopted an ambitious plan to put a church in every one of its twenty-eight parishes in 1765.[8] New York built another six churches, and Pennsylvania and South Carolina added four each. New Jersey and Massachusetts built or planned for two churches each and New Hampshire and Georgia built one apiece.[9]

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[5] The Reverend Samuel Andrews Peters' Correspondence (8 vols.; Microfilm, New York Historical Society), I, p. 75.

[6] Gaustad, op. cit., p. 9.

[7] Stephen P. Dorsey, Early English Churches in America 1607-1807 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 50-52.

The colonial Anglicans also increased in the 1760's and 1770's the number of ministers serving their churches. The records of the Bishop of London who licensed the Anglican clergy for service in the thirteen colonies reveal a major increase. Between the years 1745 and 1775 there were four hundred and nine clergymen licensed for America. Of the total number, one hundred and fifty-six were licensed between 1745 and 1760, compared with two hundred and fifty-

	1761	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	Total
New Eng.	3		2	5	1		2	1	1	2			1	2		20
Conn.							1	1			1			1		4
N.H.							1						1		1	3
Mass.							1	2		2						5
R.I.							1									1
N.Y.	1				2		1		1	3	1			4	2	15
N.J.		1	1		1		5			1		1	2			12
Pa.		2			3		2	1			1	3	2	1		15
Md.	1	1			2	2	3	4	2	3	1		4	5	1	29
Va.	3	5	4	4	4	8	4	8	7	3	7	17	4	4	6	88
N.C.		1			1	4	1	4	4		1		2	1	1	20
S.C.	4	3			1	3	2	3	6	2	4	2	3		1	34
Ga.			1			1	1			2			2			7
Total	12	13	8	9	15	18	25	24	21	18	16	23	21	18	12	253

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[8] Richard J. Hooker (ed.), The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), p. 76.

[9] Dorsey, op. cit., pp. 43, 119-121, 165. William S. Perry (ed.), Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church - Massachusetts (Printed Privately, 1873), pp. 525, 531.

three between 1761 and 1775.[10] This augmentation in clerical strength was a major factor in the advance of the Anglican communion.

Many of the new ministerial members serving the church in America were aided to a considerable degree by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. On June 23, 1701, King William III granted a charter for the S.P.G. From 1701 to 1775 its area of service in America steadily increased.[11] The years from 1761 to 1775 were the most significant for the Society in terms of the men and aid it supplied to the missions in America. The support of the S.P.G. was a major factor in the development of Anglicanism in New England, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina. Without the assistance of the Society it is probable that many of the churches in these areas could not have been founded or supplied with ministers. The distinct increase in S.P.G. support in the 1760's and 1770's is evident by comparing the figures of this period with those for the previous fifteen years. In the total picture there were ninety-nine missionaries licensed for the thirteen colonies in thirty years. Thirty-six were licensed between 1745 and 1760, and sixty-three from 1761 to 1775.[12] These were, of course, listed with the total number of clergy licensed by the Bishop of London, but for the missionaries there was a minimal annual stipend provided by the Society.

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[10] George W. Lamb (compiler), "Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies by the Bishops of London: 1745-1781," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XIII (June 1944), 128-143.

[11] C.F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. (London: S.P.G., 1901), pp. 86-87.

	1761	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	Total
New Eng.	3		2	2	1		1			2						11
Am.in Gen.				1				1					1			3
Conn.								1								1
Mass.							1	2		2						5
N.H.							1						1			2
R.I.																
N.Y.					2		1		1	3	1				2	10
N.J.			1		1		4					1	2			9
Pa.		1					1									2
Md.							1									1
Va.																
N.C.					1	4	1	2	3		1		2			14
S.C.									1							1
Ga.			1				1				1		1			4
Total	3	1	4	3	5	4	12	6	5	7	3	1	7		2	63

The stipend which the Society granted to its missionaries was £50 per year. This meant that the average annual financial disbursement for missionaries in America rose from £1800 in 1760 to £3150 in 1775.[13] After 1770, New England missionaries received £850 yearly; by 1773, those in North Carolina £700; and by 1775, the New York missionaries, an allotment of £500. In addition the Society bore the expense for Prayer Books and other literature which it supplied. The record for these supplies is incomplete, but the total cost over fifteen years amounted to a major item. It was this aid which was partly responsible for the growth of the Anglican church in New England, where the general population was hostile to it. The Anglicans in New York and New Jersey needed the Society's aid because many of their churches were new and had not developed the practice of complete local support. Furthermore, the assistance extended to North Carolina bolstered the governor's plan to establish the church firmly.

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[12] Lamb, "Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies," HMPEC, XIII, pp. 128-143.

[13] Pascoe, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

The Anglican church was the legally established church in the five colonies from Maryland to Georgia in 1761. Each of these colonies provided support in the form of taxation. The respective governments established new parishes, authorized special taxes for the building of churches, and defined what powers the local vestries should exercise. The governor, in the absence of a bishop, controlled the probations of wills, issuance of marriage licenses, and performed the induction or collation of ministers to a parish. The Anglican establishment in Virginia was the oldest and largest in America. It originated in 1619 when the legislators recognized the importance of the church and provided for its support.[14] By 1774 Virginia had one hundred parishes and one hundred and five ministers.[15] The clergy were supported by a tobacco tax which was handled by the local vestries. Also the vestries of Virginia had exercised the right to select their own minister since 1642.[16] In the decade and a half before the Revolution the Virginia legislature created six new parishes, and the church received eighty-eight new ministers.[17] Virginia was virtually independent of England in church matters except for the necessity of ordination by the English bishops and a license to serve in America from the Bishop of London. There were no S.P.G. missionaries in Virginia, nor was any outside financial aid provided.

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[14] Stokes, op. cit., p. 163.

[15] George M. Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Historical Society, 1952), II, p. 415.

[16] Ibid., I, p. 92.

The Maryland established church dated from June, 1702. Maryland supported its clergy with a tobacco tax which the sheriff was to collect and pay directly to the minister. Taxpaying freeholders in each parish elected six vestrymen and two wardens on a rotating three-year-term basis. The minister was the principal vestryman in each parish. Vestrymen supervised church affairs and inspected the morals of a parish. An appeal in religious matters was to the governor and council. In 1767 the church had grown to forty-four parishes and every one was filled.[18] The average annual salary was between £250 and £300.[19] It is not surprising that there was a waiting list of applicants seeking an appointment to Maryland. The legislative records for 1761 to 1775 are filled with instances where the Assembly granted a special tax for the building of a new church, chapel, or parsonage.

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[17] Charles F. Cocke, Parish Lines Diocese of Southwestern Virginia (The Virginia State Library: Richmond, 1960), p. 96.

[18] Nelson W. Rightmyer, Maryland's Established Church (Baltimore: The Church Historical Society, 1956), p. 119.

[19] William S. Perry (ed.), Papers of the Church in Maryland 1694-1775 (Printed Privately, 1878), pp. 345-47.

In 1770 three new parishes were authorized.[20]

There was also a measure of expansion in the Anglican establishments of the Carolinas and Georgia. South Carolina supported its clergy out of the General Treasury, which allocated funds to a Board of Commissioners, who in turn authorized payment.[21] The clergy preferred this method to a tobacco tax payable to the sheriff or vestry. There were instances in other colonies where minister and vestry disagreed and the salary was withheld. The South Carolina system of payment was far more dependable for the individual minister. Prior to 1765 the S.P.G. had subsidized several missionaries in South Carolina. Then in 1765 South Carolina raised its ministerial salaries to £110 per year.[22] This action eliminated the necessity for outside financial assistance and made the establishment more dependent upon the colonial legislature. The new governor of North Carolina, William Tryon, in 1765 secured legislation for ministerial salary increases, church construction, and new parsonages.[23] Georgia officially established Anglicanism in 1758, at which time eight parishes were defined, ministerial support set at £25 per year for a minister, and vestries empowered to levy taxes for salaries and church construction.[24] The low salary in Georgia was a major obstacle to the recruitment of additional ministers.

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[20] Rightmyer, op. cit., p. 112.

[21] George C. Rogers, Jr., Church and State in Eighteenth Century South Carolina (Charleston: Dalcho Historical Society, 1959), pp. 11.

[22] Hooker (ed.), The Carolina Backcountry, p. 72.

[23] Ibid., p. 76.

The Anglicans were also having marked success in filling their churches with worshippers. Clergymen throughout the colonies were reporting increased church attendance from Massachusetts to South Carolina. The Reverend Dr. Samuel Johnson, rector of Stratford, Connecticut reported that the Anglican churches in his area were generally growing in 1766. Dr. Johnson was senior minister among his associates in 1766 and former President of King's College, New York. He was one of the few clergymen in America with whom the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Secker, corresponded. Therefore, Johnson's report on the good condition of the churches in his area of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York carried considerable weight.[25] For some time the local clergy had been reporting increased numbers at worship. Edward Bass at Newbury, Massachusetts, claimed a large and attentive congregation; J. Wingate Weeks at Marblehead, Massachusetts, boasted of several new members.[26] The rector of Trinity Church, New York, Samuel Auchmuty, disclosed to another clergyman the need for another church because his church and chapel were filled consistently each Sunday.[27] There was a revival of religion in Virginia at this time according to Devereux Jarratt, rector of Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County. Jarratt experienced crowded churches in his parish and elsewhere. This awakened interest in religion spread over several counties in Virginia and North Carolina.[28] The most staggering accomplishment of any Anglican clergyman was made by Charles Woodmason of Saint Mark's parish, South Carolina, who claimed on March 26, 1771, that he baptized 2,000, married 100 couples, and preached 500 discourses.[29] This report apparently covered his activities for a year.

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Francis L. Hawks and William S. Perry (ed.), Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Connecticut 1704-1789 (2 vols.; Hartford: Connecticut, 1959), I, p. 102. Hereafter cited as Hawks and Perry, Connecticut.

[26] Perry (ed.), Historical Collections - Massachusetts, pp. 505, 515, 517.

Another source of strength to the Anglican church was the increasing number of governmental officials and prominent colonial families who were members. The governor of Massachusetts from 1760 to 1769, Francis Bernard, was an active layman.[30] William Tryon, who served as governor of North Carolina from 1765 to 1771 and New York from 1772 to 1775, was an unusually zealous churchman.[31] Sir William Johnson,

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[27] Letters of Richard Peters (8 vols.; Historical Society of Pennsylvania), VI, p. 49.

[28] Devereux Jarratt, The Life of the Reverend Devereux Jarratt (Baltimore: Warner and Hanna, 1806), pp. 94-95.

[29] Hooker (ed.), The Carolina Backcountry, p. 200.

[30] Carl Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 214.

[31] Hooker (ed.), The Carolina Backcountry, p. 76.

Indian agent for the Northern Department, joined the S.P.G.[32] All the governors from New Jersey to Georgia were either churchmen or openly patronized the Anglican church. Furthermore, one of the leading families—in Maryland, the Dulanys, were active churchmen and Daniel Dulany was secretary of the province from 1761 to 1774.[33] In Virginia the Lee family, in addition to numerous other leading families, were Anglican. Richard Henry Lee was one of the strongest defenders of his church when in the 1780's it was in serious trouble.[34] The Rutledges, Pickneys, and Laurens of Charleston were also within the ranks of the church.[35] The talent, time, and ability which these families contributed to the American church was a major source of its strength and progress.

From Massachusetts to Georgia the Anglicans had come to occupy a place of social prestige by mid-eighteenth century. In 1687, the governor of Massachusetts, Edmund Andros, arranged for Anglican services in Old South Meeting House, Boston. Soon King's Chapel, the first Anglican church in Boston, was built. A revolution in Massachusetts drove out Governor Andros in 1688, and some opponents of Anglicanism took the occasion to damage King's Chapel. But a new charter in 1691, recognized the right of Anglicans to worship without interference, and it prevented the Congregationalists from excluding Anglicans from voting and political office.[36] Also the Anglicans in New York were numerous and forceful enough to get a Church Act through the assembly in 1693 which gave legal status to Anglicanism in six parishes.[37] Although Pennsylvania was noted for its religious diversity, there was a group of churchman who enjoyed the favor of the proprietor and lieutenant governor in the 1760's. In Maryland and Virginia Anglicanism had achieved the place of social predominance and it was not unusal for members of other religious groups to join the Church of England.[38]

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[32] The Papers of Sir William Johnson (13 vols.; Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1931), V. p. 156.

[33] Dumas Malone (ed.), Dictionary of American Biography (22 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), V, p. 499. Hereafter cited as DAB.

[34] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, p. 462.

[35] William S. Perry, Historical Notes and Documents Illustrating the Organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America (Claremont: New Hampshire, 1874), p. 52.

Anglicanism was also gathering strength in the field of higher education in the late decades of the colonial period. There were six colleges in America in 1761: Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, the College of New Jersey, King's College, and the College of Philadelphia. The Anglican influence rose faster in education in the 1750's than it had for over half a century. William and Mary had been founded by the Reverend James Blair ,Anglican clergyman, in Virginia in 1693.[39] All the presidents of the institution had been Anglican ministers as well as a majority of the faculty. However, it was 1754 before the Anglicans were instrumental in the formation of a second college. The churchmen in New York had agitated for a college since 1746 and in the meantime donated a tract of land for the purpose. It was stipulated that the president should always be a communicant and the Prayer Book used in chapel services. When King's College was opened in 1754, the Reverend Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was considered the most learned Anglican minister in America, was selected president.[40]

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[36] Louis B. Wright, The Cultural Life of the American Colonies 1607-1763 (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), pp. 83-84.

[37] *Ibid.*,p. 87.

[38] *Ibid.*,p. 16.

The College of Philadelphia was organized in 1755 on a non-denominational basis. The Anglican influence became prominent in this new institution when the Reverend Dr. William Smith, an Anglican minister, was selected the first provost. Smith quickly became a leading figure in the church in Pennsylvania. He preached frequently in the Anglican churches in and around Philadelphia. He was perhaps more influential as a teacher because he trained several young men who became Anglican ministers. Three of his more notable pupils were Robert Blackwell, Samuel Magaw, and William White. Smith's personal ambition and authoritarian manner often drew criticism from his ministerial associates and sometimes led him into serious controversy. Nevertheless, Smith was a key figure in the church and in education.[41]

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[39] William W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (New York: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1950), p. 66.

[40] *Ibid*., p. 124.

There were three more colleges established in the 1760's but the Anglicans were not involved with any of them. Rhode Island College was started under the auspices of the Baptists, Queen's College had the backing of the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Congregationalists were instrumental in the formation of Dartmouth College. There was, however, a plan to found another college under Anglican influence in the Berkshires. It was to be called Queen's College according to Governor Francis Bernard, who supported it.[42] The plan was rejected by the Massachusetts legislature, but this is evidence of continuing interest on the part of Anglicans in education. In Charleston, South Carolina, there was also a real awareness of the need for a college. Several leading citizens were interested in it, including Henry Laurens and Benjamin Elliot.[43] Nothing came of the college at that time, but if a new college had been founded, it is more than likely the Anglican influence would have been dominant.

In spite of the expansion which the American Anglicans experienced between 1761 and 1775 they were unable to receive all the benefits of their church. The rite of confirmation was denied them because there was no bishop in America. The act of consecration which was a part of the dedication of each new church building was omitted in the absence of a bishop. There was also no adequate or designated authority in America to discipline a clergyman or group of clergymen should the need arise. The only alternative was to present the problem to the Bishop of London, in whose diocese America traditionally belonged. This practice was cumbersome and seldom proved satisfactory. There was a further problem in the requirement for all clergymen who served in America to journey to England for ordination and licensing. In the eighteenth century as many as ten prospective ministers were lost at sea. Samuel Giles and Hugh Wilson were returning from England in April, 1766, when their ship sank in a storm and they were lost off the New Jersey coast.[44] It seemed to some of the leading American churchmen that the progress of their church was deterred by the absence of a resident bishop, and to the Reverend Dr. Samuel Johnson and the Reverend Thomas B. Chandler it seemed a resident bishop was the answer to these problems.[45] The loss of Giles and Wilson in 1766 gave Johnson and Chandler a vivid illustration of why the Anglicans in America needed a bishop, and they used it freely in this discourses.

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[41] Ibid., p. 131.

[42] Bridenbaugh, op. cit., p. 214.

[43] Henry Laurens' Letter Book (5 vols.; Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society), IV, pp. 53-54.

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[44] Mary K.D. Babcock, "Difficulties and Dangers of Pre-Revolutionary Ordinations" Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XII (September 1943), p. 233.

[45] Thomas B. Chandler, An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of the Church of England in America (New York, 1767), pp. 54-55.

The high aspirations of a few American Anglican leaders sparked a plan to secure a bishop for America in the 1760's, but they failed to consider that the complicated and unpredictable relationship of politics and religion in England was bound to influence any ecclesiastical plan for America. Ever since the time of Archbishop William Laud, the Bishop of London had exercised some degree of ecclesiastical authority over the American Anglican church.[46] This jurisdiction had been administered with varying degrees of interest and effectiveness. Bishop Thomas Sherlock, 1748-1761, refused responsibility for the Anglicans in the American colonies in an effort to force them to demand their own bishop. This policy failed, and its defeat was largely due to the opposition of two leading English politicians, the Duke of Newcastle and Horatio Walpole.[47]

Horatio Walpole, brother of Sir Robert Walpole, plainly stated to Bishop Sherlock on May 29, 1750, that he did not believe the American Anglicans wanted a bishop.

> They [American Anglicans] have never that I have learnt made any formal application or even intimated to the Crown for the residence of bishops with them, . . .and I am afraid a stronger inference may be made from thence of their having no inclination to have a bishop, than can be made

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[46] Arthur L. Cross, The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902), p. 227.

[47] Ibid., p. 122.

> from other acts in favor of the Church of England that they desire to have one.[48]

He also predicted that any effort to secure a bishop for America would arouse the Dissenters in England and America, generate a controversy among Anglicans in the colonies, and produce a division between the Hanoverian supporters and those jealous of ecclesiastical power in parliament. In summary Walpole foresaw that an attempt to acquire an American bishop would "work mischievous effects on the government."[49] Newcastle confirmed the opposition of the ministry to bishops in America and advised that the scheme not be renewed.[50] The connotation is clear that the ministry opposed the idea of bishops in America on political grounds. Thus Sherlock's hope for an American bishop was frustrated by political opponents, and his defeat illustrates the inability of the Bishop of London to act on his own initiative in regard to America.

The first reason why the church leaders in England did not whole-heartedly support a bishop for America in the 1760's and 1770's was that ". . .at no time was the Anglican church, both in England and in Ireland, so completely Erastian and so entirely subservient to the purposes of civil government as in the eighteenth century."[51] Since the Revolution of 1688-89, the selection of bishops had been based chiefly on political grounds. The upper dignitaries of the church were appointed by the Crown, though the recipient was usually recommended by a leading minister. Sir Robert Walpole was always careful to recommend men for bishoprics who would support the Whig interest. In 1736, he handed the ecclesiastical patronage over to Newcastle, who controlled it on a similar pattern for twenty-five years.

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[48] Horatio Walpole to Bishop Sherlock, 29 May 1750, Ibid., Appendix A, p. 325.

[49] Ibid., p. 324.

[50] Ibid., p. 323.

[51] Basil Williams, The Whig Supremacy (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1939), p. 66.

The twenty-six bishops in the House of Lords constituted a very important voting block. In 1733 Walpole was twice saved from defeat by the support of twenty-four of the twenty-five present. In view of their political importance it was expected that they would attend Parliament for the greater part of the year. There was a further political service required from the bishops because the political education of the age was imparted mainly through the pulpit. Thus the ecclesiastical organization of which the bishop was the head furnished the most practicable means of political organization. By reason of his office and contact with the parish ministers in his diocese a bishop was in a key position to influence an election. There were times when a bishop could predict the outcome of an election with extreme accuracy. In 1741 Bishop Francis Hare of Chichester fully supported the Duke of Newcastle's men for office. Bishop Hare predicted that Pelham would win with 2262 votes and Butler with 2046. The official count gave Pelham 2271 votes and

Butler 2053.[52]

In addition to the political requirements, a bishop was expected to administer his diocese so that ordination, visitation, and confirmation were performed. Since the recess of Parliament lasted only from May to October, the bishop had just four months to fulfill these essential functions. Needless to say, several faltered in their duties. In one notable case, Thomas Smith, bishop of Carlisle from 1684 to 1702, had not held a visitation in eighteen years. This was the exception that demonstrated the problem rather than the rule.

The same system of ecclesiastical patronage that enveloped the bishops also involved the other members of the clergy. Unlike the ecclesiastical patronage in America where elected vestries had a major voice, in the selection of ministers, influential land owners had many benefices within their power, and they were extremely careful to select those clergy whose political views were compatible with their own. In most of these appointments the remuneration was small, less than £50 per year, and the tenure was uncertain.[53] Nevertheless, since the power of the clergy to influence public opinion at election time was so important, no facet of the ecclesiastical system was free from political influence. A natural consequence of this tightly organized and politically oriented system was that a bishop, as well as a curate, had to prove his political reliability if he expected a promotion. Usually a man was placed in a poorly paid Welsh see or parish and observed. If his political behavior was acceptable, he could expect advancement in time. If he displayed a tendency to independent action, he would be by-passed. In fact, none other than Thomas Secker remained Bishop of Oxford for twenty-one years because he departed from the ministry's policy. He was sixty-five years old before he was elevated to Canterbury and it took the intercession of Newcastle to effect it.[54]

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[52] Norman Sykes, *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1934), pp. 78, 84.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

With the leadership of the Anglican church subservient to the civil government, the spiritual temper of the church was decidedly affected. The prominence of the pulpit in the Georgian churches indicated that the principal feature of public worship was the sermon and the performance of Morning and Evening prayer. The sacrament of Holy Communion was often neglected; in churches that were administered well it was observed quarterly. The holy days of the Christian calendar were no better observed with the exceptions of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunday.[55] The typical sermon was marked by a clear and simple style. The theme that recurred time and time again was stated by Archbishop Tillotson in his sermon on the text, "His commandments are not grievous; . . . ." On this basis the preacher elaborated upon the reasonableness of God's laws and the necessity and rewards of obedience.[56] In this treatment of spiritual truth it was evident that temporal conformity to the law of the land was equally necessary. The theology which undergirded these preachments was "latitudinarianism." In its essence it emphasized the Fatherhood of God, the human brotherhood of man, and the duty of man to love God and his brother. In turn, worship was to inspire adoration of the Supreme Being and benevolence toward one's fellow man.[57] The result of this practical theology produced obedience to the social order, but it rarely inspired zeal or enthusiasm for the building of the Kingdom of God upon earth.

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[54] S.C. Carpenter, Eighteenth Century Church and State (London: John Murray, 1959), p. 112.

[55] Sykes, Church and State in England, p. 250.

At this point the Evangelical revival, led by John Wesley and George Whitefield, reacted against the rationalistic and latitudinarian attitude of the established church. Although Wesley and Whitefield differed on technical points of theology, they both emphasized a religion of the "heart." Their central appeal was that Christ had died for all and the Father willed that all men should come to a knowledge of His truth. To implement this message itinerant lay preachers were sent throughout the country. In point of time the Evangelical revival and resulting Methodist movement came at a strategic period. In the 1760's, 1770's, and 1780's new towns were springing up as a result of a population explosion and the beginning of the industrial revolution. Many of these communities were outside the parochial ministry. In fact, an act of parliament was required to establish a new parish, but no decisive official action was initiated to meet this need in the eighteenth century. Methodism retained its adherence to the established church, but with no established support, and took its spiritual teachings to untold numbers of people.[58]

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[56] Ibid., p. 258.

[57] Ibid., p. 257.

Although the dominant note of the Anglican church was one of complacency, it is necessary to add that there were notable exceptions. Bishops Butler and Berkeley contended successfully against the rationalistic encroachments upon faith. William Law started a trend toward personal devotional religion with his book A Serious Call To A Holy Life. Also, Bishop Thomas Wilson of Sodor and Man, Bishop Benson of Bristol, and such parish priests as Samuel Wesley, Fletcher of Madeley, and Venn of Juddersfield distinguished themselves for their self-sacrificing service.[59] But the established church, like the civil government, did not desire change nor encourage innovation in the eighteenth century.[60]

The English Dissenters, unlike their American brethren, were suffering from a lack of vigor in the mid-eighteenth century. They, like the Church of England clergy, had grown far more complacent since toleration had been granted as a part of the Revolutionary settlement in 1688-89. Furthermore, both the English Anglicans and Dissenters had expended great amounts of energy in the religious conflicts of the seventeenth century. Although the Dissenters were opposed to a bishop for America, they were less hostile toward Anglicanism, and their diminishing numbers required them to be cautious. Thus the American Anglicans who spearheaded the episcopal drive in the 1760's had more difficulty persuading their English friends to support an American bishop than they did in counteracting English Dissenter opposition. The Dissenters were still barred from government offices and university position in England, but their loyalty to the House of Hanover was beyond reproach. In 1736 attempts were made to remove these limitations, yet both times the relief measures failed. It was a full century before this discrimination was removed, but the discriminatory legislation was not enforced rigorously, nor were the Dissenters about to precipitate a controversy which would cost them their slightly improved status.[61] Since the English Dissenters were normally of the lower classes, the politicians knew that they could retain their support by treating them with civility.[62]

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[58] Williams, op. cit., pp. 96-97.

[59] Ibid., p. 91.

[60] Sykes, Church and State in England, p. 330.

The numerical strength of the Dissenters decreased in the eighteenth century. It is true they had a few notable preachers within their ranks like Dr. Bradbury, Philip Doddridge, and the more famous hymn writer, Issac Watts, but it is certain they were not gaining numerically. For example, there were 1,219 temporary and 41 permanent places of Dissenter worship registered with the government in 1701-1710. By 1761-1770 this number had decreased to 701 temporary and 85 permanent places of worship. It is probable that the ratio of Dissenters had decreased from 1 to 22 in 1688 to 1 in 40 in 1773.[63] In fact, there were many defections to the Anglican ranks. The most famous of these was Thomas Secker, who at an early age united with the established church and rose to the pinnacle of ecclesiastical prominence.[64] It was Secker's zeal for his new faith that made him a leading exponent of Anglicanism and a consistent advocate of an American episcopate.

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[61] Norman Sykes, From Sheldon to Secker (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1959), p. 102.

[62] Watson, op. cit., p. 58.

The main problem which the exponents of an Anglican bishop for America had was not a form of external opposition, but the stultifying effect which the political structure of the period forced upon the established church. The archbishops and bishops could not successfully promote a program without the endorsement of the ministry. A prelate who was too outspoken could quickly lose his footing in the political quicksand and suffer ostracism as a result. It is certainly to the credit of Archbishop Secker that he was able to keep the issue for an American bishop before the government under such adverse circumstances.

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[63] Williams, op. cit., p. 85; C.E. Fryer, "Numerical Decline of Dissent" American Journal of Theology, XVII (April 1913), pp. 237-239.

[64] Albert Hartshorne (ed.), Memoirs of A Royal Chaplin, 1729-1763 (London: John Lane, 1905), p. 307.

Nevertheless, in the 1760's there were a number of factors indicating that an episcopal campaign might succeed. First, Dr. Samuel Johnson was a widely recognized leader in the American Anglican church. In 1761 he was President of King's College, New York. He was active in every phase of the church's life from ministerial education to missionary service. He was also recognized as an unusually competent authority on American church affairs by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in England. In all of his varied activities, Dr. Johnson was a persistent promoter for the establishment of an American bishop. By virtue of his position he was frequently consulted by the Archbishop of Canterbury on church affairs. These two churchmen shared enthusiastically the passion for an American bishop. Their mutual interest in the problem dated from 1741 when Thomas Secker was Bishop of Oxford. At that time he proposed a bishop for America in a sermon preached before the members of the S.P.G., but to no effect. Then in 1758 Secker was elevated to the highest ecclesiastical office in England, and this promotion placed him in a most advantageous position to aid in a scheme for an American bishop.

The issue of an American bishop was given renewed importance when on November 4, 1760, the archbishop wrote to

Dr. Johnson, "I come now to your letter of July 13th, 1760, and assure you that I shall always be pleased with your notifying and proposing to me whatever you apprehend to be material."[65] It is evident both men understood their common concern for a bishop since Secker assured his informant that Lord Halifax, Secretary for American Affairs, was very eager for American bishops. Johnson's reply to this news was descriptive of his conviction:

> Blessed be God for the happy unanimity of the nation and the good disposition of Lord Halifax towards our being in due time provided for with bishops, and your good hopes relating to that affair. . . .I doubt not of your Grace's influence with His Majesty when you have a proper opportunity that he may become a kind benefactor to it.[66]

The accession of George III to the throne in October, 1760, was an event filled with promise for the Anglicans. George III, unlike his predecessor, was born, baptized, and reared a churchman. In his own way he was a devoted and conscientious worshipper. He favored in his appointments those whose orthodoxy was beyond question. In addition, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Secker, was his spiritual adviser. In fact, Secker performed the marriage of George III, baptized his children, and officiated at his coronation.[67]

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[65] Thomas Secker to Dr. Samuel Johnson, 4 November 1760, Harold & Carol Schneider (eds.), Samuel Johnson President of King's College His Career and Writings (4 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), IV, p. 72.

[66] Johnson to Secker, 10 April 1762. Ibid., I, p. 319.

[67] Charles J. Abbey and John H. Overton, The English Church In The Eighteenth Century (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1878), II, pp. 400-401.

It was hoped Secker's personal contact with the king would provide an opportunity for him to influence the king to appoint an American bishop. It is perfectly understandable that Dr. Johnson expected to succeed in his request for an American bishop. But the Archbishop was cautious in his prediction in 1761:

> The king hath had no opportunity as yet of showing what his dispositions are towards the American churches, excepting that in general all his dispositions are good. But whom he will consult particularly on this head hath not hitherto appeared. I presume the Episcopal clergy will transmit addresses to him, ...This may lead him to inquire concerning them, and express himself in relation to them.[68]

The clergy of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania in 1761 forwarded addresses to the new king, affirming their loyalty and requesting a bishop. One reason for this apparent unity on the part of the clergy was that by 1761 it had become customary to petition a new monarch or episcopal leader in this fashion. The second reason was that the Anglican leaders in the Northern and Middle colonies had a decided influence on the younger clergymen. Samuel Johnson exercised this position in New York and Connecticut. Henry Caner held a similar position in Massachusetts by virtue of his long experience and personal ability. Thomas B. Chandler was rapidly achieving this status in New Jersey. There was, however, no request for a bishop from the laity in general, and the clergy of the south did not join in this overt request for a bishop.

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[68] Secker to Johnson, 20 January 1761. Thomas B. Chandler, The Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D. (London: C. & J. Rivington, 1824), p. 183.

The promptness of the response prompted the Archbishop to give a definite piece of advice.

> I thank you for your draught of an address for bishops on a peace [end of Seven Years' War], Would to God both events were nearer than they seem to be at present. The right time to try is certainly when a peace is made, if circumstances afford any hope of success. But this is a matter of which you in America cannot judge; and therefore I beg you will attempt nothing without the advice of the Society, or of the bishops.[69]

It was apparent to all parties concerned that the time to press for an American bishop was at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War. By the Peace of Paris, signed in 1763, Great Britain gained French Canada, the Spanish Floridas, all North America to the Mississippi, the best of the West Indies, and India. With this additional territory the problems of organization and administration were colossal. In March of 1763, Secker speculated that

> probably our ministry will be concerting schemes this summer, against the next session of Parliament, for the settlement of His Majesty's American dominions; and then we must try our utmost for bishops.[70]

Archbishop Secker needed a man in the bishopric of London who would cooperate closely with him in a plan for an American bishop. The method Secker followed was one of friendly cooperation and persuasion. In this he was unlike Bishop Sherlock, who tried to force the issue. When Sherlock died in 1761, he was succeeded by Dr. Thomas Hayter. Secker believed Hayter was the type of man who would cooperate with him. He could not restrain his optimism when he notified Johnson, "the new Bishop of London is a very able and active, and spirited man, and hath much influence with some who have influence with the king. I hope, therefore, that he will be very useful to the colonies."[71] If Secker were to succeed where Sherlock had failed, it was certain he would need all the support he could muster among the bishops as well as the politicians.

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[69] Secker to Johnson, 10 December 1761. Schneiders, op. cit., III, P. 261.

[70] Secker to Johnson, 30 March 1763. Ibid., III, p. 269.

In spite of the reasons for optimism there was a period of suspense and uncertainty when Secker warned Johnson not to get his hopes for a bishop too high. He explained the unpredictable circumstances in a letter dated September 28, 1763.

> What will be done about bishops, I cannot guess. Application for them was made to Lord Egremont, who promised to consult with the other ministers, but died without making any report from them. His successor, Lord Halifax, is a friend to the scheme; but I doubt, whether in the present weak state of the ministry, he will dare to meddle with what will certainly raise opposition.[72]

Johnson did not accept this explanation completely, for he knew the vast new territory of Canada required attention and organization. If it were considered too hazardous an experiment to send a bishop to America, Johnson was prepared to accept one in Canada as the next best alternative. Johnson believed "a wise and worthy bishop who understood French placed in Canada" could serve the other colonies.[73]

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[71] Secker to Johnson, 10 December 1761. Schneiders, op. cit., III, p. 262.

[72] Secker to Johnson, 28 September 1763. Ibid., III, p. 278.

The interest in an American bishop was shared by Sir William Johnson, an Indian agent located to Johnstown, New York. From a professional point of view he wrote to the Lords of Trade on January 20, 1764 and requested

> . . .for our further security they [Lords of Trade] consent that the several Jesuit missions, those fountains of discord, be abolished, which may be readier effected, as that society is no longer tolerated in France. The lands which will revert to the Crown by their abolition will endow a bishoprick in Canada, as well as provide for a number of inferior clergy, . . .the establishment of Episcopacy there, under a resident bishop, would not only generally strengthen the Church of England, but prove a means of adding in a few years a number of faithful subjects to the crown. . . .[74]

Thus the planners for an American bishop received encouragement from an unexpected source. William Johnson believed a bishop could help him handle the Indian problem, and Samuel Johnson knew a bishop would serve the American church. In eighteenth-century England a bishop performed both political and ecclesiastical functions, and there was no reason to believe he would not do the same in Canada or America.

In 1763 the Rev. East Apthorp, S.P.G. missionary at Cambridge, Massachusetts, penned and had published his Considerations on the Institutions and Conduct of the S.P.G. to vindicate its record of service. He also argued for the necessity of an American bishop. Immediately, Jonathan Mayhew, a Congregational minister from Boston, challenged this proposal. Mayhew counter-charged in his Observations on the Charter of the S.P.G. that the purpose of the S.P.G. was to "root out all New England churches."[75] Mayhew's counterblast was so severe that Apthorp admitted to Dr. Johnson,

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[73] Johnson to Secker, 20 December 1763. Hugh Hastings (ed.), Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York (7 vols.; Albany: J.B. Lyon, 1905), VII, p. 591.

[74] Sir William Johnson to Lords of Trade, 20 January 1764. Ibid., VI, p. 3913.

> the affair of soliciting the settlement of bishops among us, is, I perceive, a matter of too great consequence and difficulty for me to engage in singly. What I wrote so hastily was rather expressive of my good will than of my settled thoughts.[76]

Dr. Johnson had already come to the conclusion that Apthorp had written too hastily and said so to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Archbishop himself decided to reply to Mayhew and he did so anonymously. His pamphlet, An Answer to Dr. Mayhew's Observations on the Character and Conduct of the S.P.G. published in 1764, was a fiery and forceful rebuttal. The author divided Mayhew's argument into three parts. The first part of Mayhew's pamphlet was written against the Church of England; the second attacked the S.P.G.; the third point dealt with the appointment of bishops for America. Secker claimed a bishop in America would only visit New England and reside in a colony that invited him. Such a bishop, he claimed, would only have power to ordain, confirm, and have oversight of the clergy. There would be no attempt to seek tax support or political influence.[77] The point of this literary conflict is that for the first time the issue of establishing a bishop or bishops in America became the main topic of controversy between the Dissenters and Anglicans.[78] The differences of liturgy, theology and patristic interpretations dropped into the background.

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[75] Jonathan Mayhew, Observations on the Charter (Boston: Draper, 1763), p. 107.

[76] Apthorp to Johnson, 7 May 1764. Schneiders, op. cit., III, pp. 284-85.

The initial stage of the controversy lasted more than a year and the result was inconclusive. The conflict set forth certain facts which gave the proponents of an American bishop added hope. Secker pointed out that the Moravians were permitted by law to have their bishops in America. Besides, he expected a Roman Catholic bishop would be permitted in Canada to serve the Roman Catholic residents. Consequently Archbishop Secker confided to Dr. Johnson on May 22, 1764, "indeed, I see not how Protestant bishops can decently be refused us, as in all probability a popish one will be allowed, by connivance at least, in Canada."[79] Thus, from the point of view of the Anglican leaders in Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey the early 1760's were filled with optimism, tempered by hesitance, and concluded by cautious assurance. This was, however, still an area of interest largely restricted to Dr. Johnson, Archbishop Secker, and a few zealous missionaries like East Apthorp. No one thought to consult the laity or the clergy in general. In fact, the southern colonies had not registered their opinion, and the leaders assumed that silence meant consent, or that they didn't care.

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[77] Thomas Hardy (ed.), The Works of Thomas Secker (4 vols.; London: R. Ogle, 1804), IV, p. 514.

[78] Cross, op. cit., p. 154.

[79] Secker to Johnson, 22 May 1764. James S.M. Anderson, The History of the Church of England in the Colonies (3 vols.; London: Rivingtons, 1856), III, p. 434.

Archbishop Secker informed Dr. Johnson, on May 22, 1764,

> the affair of American bishops continues in suspense. Lord Willoughby of Parkam, the only English dissenting Peer, and Dr. Chandler, have declared, after our scheme was fully laid before them, that they saw no objections against it.The Duke of Bedford, Lord President, hath given a calm and favourable hearing to it, hath desired it may be reduced to writing, and promised to consult about it with the other ministers at his first leisure. . . .yet much will depend on various circumstances. . . .[80]

The "various circumstances" to which Secker referred were undoubtedly the two ministries which had fallen in four years and the likelihood of further ministerial change. This ministerial instability naturally affected the Archbishop's scheme to place a bishop in America. Unless the ministry approved of the scheme it would certainly meet defeat because of a lack of support. Therefore, Secker was sometimes optimistic, sometimes doubtful, but always cautious in his hopes for an American episcopate.

On October 5, 1761, William Pitt resigned from the ministry as a result of a quarrel over the war policy. Lord Bute followed him into office, but no sooner had this occurred than Newcastle resigned over the conduct of the treasury which he disputed with George Grenville. This meant the ecclesiastical patronage changed hands for the first time in twenty-five years. Lord Bute advised George Grenville,

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[80] Secker to Johnson, 22 May 1764. Chandler, op. cit., p. 199.

> there is no part of my situation arising from the king's partiality to me that I prize more than ecclesiastical patronage, not for the sake of making friends or forming party, but from a conviction that a proper choice of clergy, especially of those in higher preferments, is rendering to my king and country a most essential service. . . .[81]

In spite of his expressed idealism, Bute did not remain in office long enough to influence ecclesiastical appointments. On April 8, 1763, wearied by political struggles, he resigned. He was succeeded by George Grenville, who tried to attach all loyalty to himself. To insure loyalty he handled patronage through his personal secretary.[82] Naturally the ecclesiastical patronage changed hands again.

The political instability of the government inevitably produced a reaction of hesitancy on the part of the Anglican bishops. Although Bute made only one episcopal appointment and Grenville but two, this situation could not have been seen in advance. It was only normal that the bishops were cautious when their own futures were unpredictable and the ministries so short-lived that their attitude toward an American bishop was uncertain. Only Archbishop Secker persisted in this endeavor, but he enjoyed a degree of royal favor, and he had learned from personal experience how to handle himself under uncertainty and tension. It is understandable that he advised Dr. Johnson, ". . . .I beg you will attempt nothing without the advice of the society, or of the bishops."[83]

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[81] James J. Smith (ed.), The Grenville Papers (4 vols.; London: John Murray, 1852), I, p. 419.

[82] J. Steven Watson, The Reign of George III 1760-1815. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 97.

In the meantime, the Grenville ministry fell even before the repeal of the Stamp Act. Writing in retrospect, the Archbishop lamented this sudden check to the episcopal scheme which seemed so close to fulfillment and now looked uncertain at best.

> And in the latter end of Mr. Grenville's ministry, a plan of an ecclesiastical establishment for Canada was formed, on which a bishop might easily have been grafted, and was laid before a committee of council. But opinions differed there, and proper persons could not be persuaded to attend; and in a while the ministry changed. . . .Yesterday the ministry changed again, ...Of late, indeed, it hath not been prudent to do anything, ..."[84]

The hoped for support from the Bishop of London, Dr. Thomas Hayter, was rudely shattered by his death in 1762. His successor, Dr. Richard Osbaldistone, did not survive two years in office. In 1764 Bishop Richard Terrick was elevated to London, but he proved a keen disappointment to Archbishop Secker and the American Anglicans who wanted a bishop.

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[83] Thomas B. Chandler, The Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D., pp. 184-85.

[84] Secker to Johnson, 31 July 1766. Ibid., p. 199.

Instead of taking out a commission to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the American colonies, he declined this responsibility and challenge. Terrick was unwilling to involve himself openly with the episcopal issue in America without the support of the ministry. The intervention of Secker to persuade him of the importance of the matter failed.[85] In his own private way Terrick did attempt to forward the episcopal scheme. Apparently Secker never knew that Terrick, who was a friend of Lord Bute and who was made a privy councillor in July, 1764, tried three times to secure favorable action to establish a bishop in America. It was six or seven years before Terrick admitted his efforts to forward the measure.[86]

In an undated letter addressed to the Lords of Trade in 1772, Bishop Terrick disclosed his earlier activities in behalf of an American episcopate.

> Soon after I was Bishop of London I went to wait upon the King and laid before him the state of religion in the plantations and the necessity there was of having a bishop settled in those parts. His Majesty heard me very graciously, upon which I asked him whether I might apply to his Ministers, he consented to it but I never could have an opportunity of meeting with the Ministers. After frequent delays and no hopes of success I waited upon the King again and had his leave to acquaint the Ministers that it was His Majesty's pleasure they should take the affair into their consideration; this produced a meeting at Newcastle House but the meeting produced nothing. The last effort I made was

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[85] Ibid., pp. 200-201.

[86] William L. Saunders (ed.), The Colonial Records of North Carolina (9 vols.; Raleigh: Josephus Daniels, 1888), IX, pp. 83-84.

> by desiring the King's consent that I might lay what I had to propose to His Majesty in Council, which accordingly was done six or seven years ago and I have heard nothing of it since.[87]

It is clear from this report of Bishop Terrick's that the British ministry never seriously considered an American bishop in the 1760's or 1770's. Bishop Terrick was confirmed as Bishop of London on June 6, 1764, on recommendation of his friend Lord Bute.[88] His three unsuccessful attempts to promote a bishop must have occurred in 1765 or 1766. Perhaps this explains his lack of enthusiasm and support for the plan of Dr. Johnson and Thomas B. Chandler in late 1766 and 1767. In fact, it was 1768 before a copy of Chandler's Appeal reached England.

One further point must be stressed. Archbishop Secker was an indefatigable friend of the American Anglican church, but his position on the episcopal bench was steadily weakened in the 1760's by the frequent change of ministries. After the resignation of Newcastle in 1762, Secker's influence dropped markedly. In 1766 he confessed,

> after his [Newcastle's] first resignation in this king's reign, I was neither asked nor told anything by the king or any of his ministers; excepting that Mr. Grenville once told me Dr. Terrick was intended for Bishop of London and that he hoped I approved it.[89]

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Sidney Lee (ed.), Dictionary of National Biography (63 vols.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898), LVI, p. 78. Hereafter cited as DNB.

[89] Sykes, From Sheldon to Secker, p. 211.

This is one example how the overriding political problems of the time prevented and continued to prevent effective action on the part of the English bishops in behalf of an American bishop. The continued ministerial instability during the years up to 1770 made the reintroduction of a scheme for an American bishop extremely difficult if not impossible. In 1768 Archbishop Secker died, and with his demise the American Anglicans lost their sincerest friend and advocate.

In 1770 Lord North was appointed to head a new ministry. This time the instability of the 1760's was eliminated for twelve long years. The policy North adopted was simply this: he had no intentions of forcing any new policy on the Commons and he believed in conciliating as many leaders of importance as possible.[90] Archbishop Secker's successor at Canterbury was the Bishop of Lichfield, Frederick Cornwallis. Cornwallis presided at Canterbury until 1783, but he is remembered chiefly for his affability, courtesy, and hospitality. In respect to the American Anglican church there is no indication that he corresponded with its leaders or aided the episcopal scheme in any way.[91] If the expanding church in America was to continue to grow and acquire a bishop, the major proportion of vitality to sustain this development had to come from America.

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[90] Watson, op. cit., pp. 147-48.

[91] William W. Manross, The Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965). There are no letters of Archbishop Cornwallis listed in this index.

The development of the American Anglican church was remarkable in the 1760's and 1770's, but its progress was checked at one point by the complacency of the British government and bishops. Very few key men in the British government favored an American bishop; Horatio Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle opposed the appointment, while only Archbishop Secker persisted in advocating it. A few men like Lord Halifax and the bishops of Oxford and London, Robert Lowth and Richard Terrick, favored the idea at one time or another, but none of them was able to advance the cause. The British government was primarily absorbed with resolving the debt of the Seven Years' War and administering an empire. The attempts to solve these problems led to a series of crises and ministerial changes in the 1760's which prevented a careful study of the needs of the Church of England in America. This unresponsiveness on the British government's part was a prime reason for the defeat of the episcopal scheme. The zealous American churchmen who advocated the appointment of a bishop did not fully understand the Erastian relationship of church and state in England. They assumed that if they made an issue of their episcopal request the hierarchy and perhaps the government might be induced to act.

CHAPTER II

THE AMERICAN ZEALOTS

The center of American Anglican agitation for a bishop in the 1760's and 1770's was in the New England, New York, and New Jersey area. Within this geographical area the most outspoken leaders for an American episcopate lived and served. Dr. Samuel Johnson was President of King's College and upon his retirement to Stratford, Connecticut, in 1762 he continued to exert his influence to secure a bishop. In New Jersey, Thomas B. Chandler was pastor at Elizabeth Town. His vigorous personality and his subsequent pamphlets made him the leader of the pro-episcopal interest in the public mind. The Reverend Henry Caner, pastor of King's Chapel, Boston, was the acknowledged leader of the Anglicans in Massachusetts and for a time brought the Anglican clergy of his area to support the plan for an American bishop.

The Anglican church leaders had to act vigorously in the northeastern colonies to keep their church vital. Unless they contended for the interest of their church, no one else would. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire the Congregationalists enjoyed the status of an establishment.[1]

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[1] Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, The Growth of the American Republic (2 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), I, p. 243.

There were two hundred and thirty-one Congregational churches in Massachusetts as opposed to seventeen Anglican churches there in 1750. New Hampshire had forty Congregational churches and one Anglican. In New York City and Westchester County the Anglicans received limited support, but throughout the colony they were outnumbered by Presbyterian churches by thirty-five as against twenty.[2] Furthermore, the aggressive leadership of William Livingston, William Smith, and John Morin Scott provided the Presbyterians with effective laymen. No religious establishment existed in New Jersey, but the Presbyterians were the largest single religious body with fifty one churches and the Anglicans only eighteen.[3]

It is a credit to the Anglican Church leaders that in the New England, New York, and New Jersey area where they received little or no support from the colonial government they grew from only three churches in this area in 1700 to at least seventy-five churches by 1750. To further this growth, the clerical leaders in the 1760's and 1770's wanted a bishop. Dr. Johnson and Thomas B. Chandler were able to influence a majority of the Anglican clergy in the area to support the plan. But there is no evidence that the Anglican laity took any part in their scheme. In fact, the opposite reaction was true. The laity in general passively resisted the scheme and conducted their local church business as usual.

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[2] Gaustad, op. cit., p. 167.

[3] Ibid., p. 167.

Although there was a definite desire and plan to procure a resident American bishop, the number of Anglicans who supported the scheme was quite small. If Dr. Johnson and Thomas B. Chandler had not led the campaign for a bishop, there would have been little agitation on the part of the Anglicans in general for a bishop. The S.P.G. in England gave no official encouragement to the promoters of the scheme. In fact, the English ministry never favored the episcopal scheme. The controversy that resulted between the Anglicans and Presbyterians and Congregationalists was due to the fact that the opponents of the episcopate got politics and polity confused, or they were looking for an excuse for a fight.[4]

The elevation of Thomas Secker to Canterbury gave renewed emphasis to an American episcopate, for he agreed with Johnson and Chandler that a resident American bishop was desirable. However, the archbishop's inability to make the episcopal scheme a government project caused Johnson to despair and on September 5, 1765, he complained,

> had it been done last spring (when the dissenters themselves expected nothing else) and the Stamp Act postponed till the next, it would have been but a nine days wonder, nor do I believe one half of the people of America would have been much if at all uneasy about it, . . .But in truth I am afraid that both the Bible and the episcopate. . .are both sinking in this apostalizing age, both home and abroad, ...So that unless the poor Church of England in all orders of men so soon rouse up and exert a spirit of zeal, courage and activity, I fear there is a greater probability

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[4] Manross, op. cit., p. 159.

> that the episcopate will in not many years be demolished in England than established in America.[5]

The distress felt by Johnson was not shared by his younger companion, Chandler, who took the initiative in the drive for an American bishop. As a result of Chandler's efforts a voluntary convention was held in Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, in October, 1766. The convention was attended by nineteen Anglican clergymen from New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Johnson and Chandler were present, as were their trusted associates--Samuel Seabury, Charles Inglis, Myles Cooper, Jeremiah Leaming, Abraham Jarvis, and Bela Hubbard. Richard Peters, rector of Christ and Saint Peter's churches, Philadelphia, was the only representative from Pennsylvania. The total number of clergy present probably represented about thirty percent of the Anglican clergy from Massachusetts to Pennsylvania. Only two prominent Anglican clergy, Henry Caner of Massachusetts and William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, were absent. The most active figures in this convention were native-born American converts to Anglicanism. Johnson, Chandler, Leaming, and Robert McKean were all converts, and Seabury and Jarvis were the sons of converts and also native Americans.[6] Zeal for their adopted faith was a major motivating force behind the episcopal campaign.

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[5] Dr. Johnson to Archbishop Secker, 5 September 1765. Schneiders, op. cit., I, p. 355.

[6] "The Seabury Minutes of the New York Clergy Conventions of 1766 and 1767," The Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, X (June 1941), p. 127.

This inter-colonial convention quickly organized itself and began to determine policy without consulting the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of Canterbury. The convention provided a way to perpetuate itself by designating nine members as a sufficient number to constitute a convention, and an occasional meeting could be called to meet emergencies with only seven members present. The group of clerical members claimed that their resolutions were only advisory and recommendatory, and could not bind a clergyman or a church.[7] However, the idea of regional convention direction and supervision was introduced, and in the postwar years this experience proved valuable. The time would come when a committee of the convention would control the acceptance or rejection of members of the clergy. Also the laity would be incorporated as an integral part of the convention. In fact, the time would come when a national convention would write the constitution that would establish and control the episcopate in America. But in 1766 the presumptuous activities of nineteen Anglican clergymen were hardly expected to produce such far-reaching consequences.

The sole purpose of the convention in 1766 was forcefully stated ". . .to use their joint influence and endeavors to obtain the happiness of bishops, ..."[8] The minutes do not contain a description of the type nor give the number of bishops they wanted. When Chandler wrote his Appeal to the Public in 1767 he described the type of episcopacy the convention desired. Their plan called for a "purely spiritual" episcopate with authority derived from the Church of England, but not the British government. This meant that a bishop could ordain, confirm, and oversee the clergy, but he would have no commission to probate wills, issue marriage licenses, or try cases involving charges of immorality. It was emphatically denied that the proposed bishops would have any connection with the colonial governments as well as the British government. Furthermore, it was pointed out that such a bishop would have no control over the Anglican laity nor the Dissenters.[9] Dr. Johnson thought that three bishops were necessary for the American church. One was proposed for Albany, one for Virginia, and one for the West Indies. Thomas B. Chandler thought that two would be sufficient. The difficulties in the way, however, were so great that it is certain Johnson and Chandler both would have been overjoyed had they secured one.

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[7] Ibid., p. 127.

[8] Ibid., p. 132.

Under the presidency of Chandler the convention undertook to promote the procurement of a bishop in several ways. In the first place the clergy sent petitions to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Oxford. Next, agents were elected and letters written authorizing Dr. Myles Cooper and Robert McKean to approach the governors of Maryland and Virginia to solicit their support for the plan. The purpose was unmistakable: ". . .we have desired to wait upon and confer with Your Excellency, on an affair we have much at heart, namely an American Episcopate, ...[10]

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[9] Chandler, An Appeal, pp. 54-60, 79.

It was also planned that each clergyman in attendance would write friends, relatives, and other clergymen to persuade them to join in the scheme for the episcopate. Charles Inglis sent correspondence as far south as North Carolina. Dr. Johnson wrote to the Reverend James Camm, professor at William and Mary College in Virginia.

> And it has been a matter of great wonderment to us that you gentlemen of the most ancient and most respectable province of Virginia and the other southern provinces where the church is established have never as we know of solicited a bishop. . .I am, therefore, very apprehensive that our solicitations will fail of gaining the point, unless we could bring it to a general cry, and prevail with the southern provinces to join us. . . .What you suggest with regard to Virginia is of great weight.[11]

In addition to these contacts, William Nelson, a future president of the council of Virginia, reported that a circular letter solicitating the support of the Virginia Anglicans was circulated. Both in Virginia and Maryland, Jonathan Boucher, an Anglican clergyman, disseminated information about the issue. Moreover, Henry Caner, the leading Anglican clergyman of Massachusetts, was able to bring the twelve clergymen of that colony to support the cause. By the end of 1766 it appeared that real support was mounting to bring the issue of an American bishop to a showdown.

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[10] Letter from Clergy of Convention to Governor Horatio Sharp, 21 May 1767. Ibid., p. 160.

[11] Dr. Johnson to James Camm, 10 April 1767. Schneiders, op. cit., I, pp. 398-99.

There was, however, an ominous note struck at the Elizabeth Town convention in October 1766. Richard Peters of Philadelphia, expressed opposition to the action subsequently taken by the convention to appeal for a bishop. Peters proposed an alternate plan which was the work of William Smith, the Provost of the College of Philadelphia. This plan called for the appointment of commissaries. One would be assigned to New York and Connecticut; another would have the oversight of the Anglicans in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. This scheme could be expanded as required, but no elaboration of the proposed commissary's powers was recorded.[12] The only apparent difference between the proposed commissary and its predecessors in the southern colonies was the increased area of his jurisdiction from one to two colonies.

The plan for commissaries met stiff and decisive defeat. Chandler reported to Dr. Johnson, "we voted an address to the Bishop of London against the appointment of commissaries, and another to the society against their appointment of agents agreeable to Dr. Smith's plan, ...[13] A commissary could not perform the functions desired by the majority of the convention. Moreover, the commissaries who had served in Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina had not met the needs of the church. The convention obviously wanted an ecclesiastical official who could ordain, confirm, and successfully discipline the clergy.

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[12] Ibid., I, p. 370.

[13] Thomas B. Chandler to Dr. Johnson, 19 October 1766. Ibid., I, p. 370.

In the first place a commissary could not ordain, confirm, or pass final sentence in a disciplinary case against a clergyman. The defendant had the right of appeal to the Archbishop of Canterbury. At best the commissary could only visit the parishes, check the records, convene a convention, and keep the needs of the church before the governor, council, and assembly. It was necessary that a commissary have the backing of the Bishop of London to be effective in these functions, but the bishops of London had not given this support since the elevation of Sherlock to London in 1748. Thus the counter-proposal of Peters and Smith was a positive form of resisting the main motion of the convention to petition for a bishop.

Soon after the Elizabeth Town convention, Samuel Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York, registered another dissenting opinion. To Dr. Johnson he wrote,

> in general we are got too warm and want a cheque. The Jersey clergy are really too importunate, and I hear their late proceeding will hurt the cause rather than do it good. . . .They have fired their whole artillery against commissaries in a letter to the Bishop of London. I doubt whether the bishop will thank them for their remonstrance.[14]

Auchmuty attended the October, 1766, convention and apparently participated in its deliberations, but the fervor with which Chandler and company pressed the issue prompted him to protest. But the resistance of Samuel Auchmuty, like that of Richard Peters and William Smith, was quickly overridden in 1766.

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[14] Samuel Auchmuty to Dr. Johnson, 3 November 1766. Ibid., I, p. 382.

The strongest single source of encouragement to Dr. Johnson and Thomas B. Chandler was the fact that in 1766 Sir William Johnson, the imperial Indian agent for the northern department, pledged his support to the plan for an American bishop. On December 2, 1766 he wrote to Dr. Johnson,

> I will not take up more of your time now by enlarging hereon and shall only add that I am so thoroughly persuaded of the importance of bishops in America that you may rely on my continuing to recommend it in strong terms - Albany is most advantagiously situated for one to the northward, I should think the united voice of the established clergy here would soon obtain it . . . .[15]

Sir William Johnson kept his promise and on December 3, 1767, wrote to the Earl of Shelburne, secretary for American affairs, and urged that the British government give favorable consideration to the request for an American bishop.

The efforts to mobilize all Anglicans in the drive for a bishop was unsuccessful. Passive resistance on the part of many, especially the laity, made it doubly imperative that the zealous churchmen do their best. Sir William Johnson recognized this when he wrote that

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[15] Sir William Johnson to Dr. Johnson, 2 December 1766. James Sullivan, The Papers of Sir William Johnson. (13 vols.; Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1931). V, p. 440.

> the worst circumstances attending the interests of the Church of England, is the lukewarmness of a great part of its professors, I hope, however, that it be overcome by the laudable zeal of its clergy, and those few members, who from a thorough sense of the importance of what is now in agitation will exert themselves to promote it.[16]

In the fall of 1767 the New Jersey Anglicans held a second convention. Its purpose was identical with the first convention of 1766. But another method to increase the pressure for an American bishop was added. The promoters of the episcopal plan believed that a carefully prepared plan, rationally presented, would allay any fears the Dissenters had, and in turn it would rally the indifferent and passively resistant Anglicans. Thomas B. Chandler was encouraged to prepare An Appeal to the Public in behalf of the Church of England in America. It was this move that provoked the fears of the Dissenters and led to a long and bitter conflict.[17]

The Appeal was divided into four parts: (1) the origin and nature of the episcopal office; (2) reasons for sending bishops to America; (3) a plan by which they are to be sent; (4) a refutation of objections against the plan. The proposition that Chandler hoped would placate the Dissenters was the theory of ". . .a purely spiritual episcopate for America, of bishops who should have no temporal powers, no special relations with the state, no state functions, no exclusive civil privileges. . . ."[18] In effect, Chandler proposed a bishop with a mitre, but without the sceptre. In other words, the episcopal figure would have the right of ordination, confirmation, and visitation, but he would not serve as an official of state in any respect. It was hoped this approach would give no offense to the Dissenters.

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[16] Sir William Johnson to Samuel Auchmuty, 22 September 1767. Papers of Sir William Johnson, op. cit., V, pp. 695-96.

[17] Bridenbaugh, op. cit., p. 296.

The calm before the storm lasted six months. Then the explosive fury of independent opposition found expression through Charles Chauncy's pen. The Appeal Answered was the keynote address of a concerted effort in pamphlet and newspaper utterly to refute the position taken by Chandler in the Appeal. In the end the contest went through The Appeal Defended by Chandler which was answered by Chauncy's A Reply to Dr. Chandler's "Appeal Defended." In 1771 Chandler countered with The Appeal Further Defended.

Chauncy, a long time opponent of Anglicans in New England, put his finger upon the sensitive issue of Anglican resistance to an American episcopate, especially on the part of the laity. In the first place he pointed out that the plan had been agitated exclusively by certain of the clergy. The laity had given no expression of approval to the plan which would affect them. Moreover, the intrepid Chauncy publicized the fact that the Anglican clergy had no authority to speak for the English bishops and all the colonial clergy. In fact, he challenged the promoters of the episcopal scheme that a secret ballot among Anglicans would completely negate the plan.[19] It is surprising that Chauncy's penetrating accusations were not answered or refuted in the press or by the united action of the Anglicans. Only Chandler cautiously admitted that a few might resist the plan, but he dismissed the challenge as unworthy of further discussion.

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[18] "Seabury Minutes" op. cit., p. 128.

In March, 1768, another phase of the controversy exploded in the newspapers. "The American Whig" appeared as a weekly article in the New York Gazette and it was run for fifty-seven issues. The men behind the articles were William Livingston, William Smith, and John Moren Scott. All three were Presbyterians and well known for their intense interest in religious freedom. Their object in "The American Whig" was to explode the idea that the Anglicans wanted a primitive bishop. Instead, they asserted that the plan was to procure a benign episcopate, but in time it would be endowed with full prelatical powers.[20]

The claim that an American Anglican bishop would be a primitive bishop was too fantastic for most people to believe. For example, primitive bishops were elected by a free vote of the clergy. Their functions were limited to ordination, confirmation, and visitation. A primitive bishop in the third or fourth century might also be a pastor himself. But since 313 A.D. when Emperor Constantine officially recognized the Christian religion, bishops became closely associated with the state. In fact, an eighteenth century English bishop was appointed by the king, endowed with titles and dignities, and required to engage in secular and political affairs. It was too much to expect anyone to believe that all the appendages of the episcopal office would be swept away at the request of a few American Anglican clergy.[21]

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[19] Charles Chauncy, An Appeal to the Public Answered (Boston, 1768), pp. 135-36.

[20] "The American Whig" No. 1, New York Gazette, March 14, 1768. "The American Whig" series also appeared in the Boston Gazette and the Pennsylvania Journal.

It was also known to Anglicans and Dissenters alike that the English bishops had the authority to certify the legitimacy of births and marriages, to probate wills, conduct ecclesiastical proceedings in morals cases, pronounce excommunication, and compel the payment of tithes and stipends to the church.[22] That this wide range of ecclesiastical authority would be denied an American prelate was more than reasonable men could accept.

It was pointed out again and again by non-Anglicans that many Anglicans did not want a bishop for the same reasons that caused others to resist it. In 1768 a public letter was addressed to Chandler in which it was publicly asserted ". . .it is certain that a great part of your hearers, of your own church, are very far from wishing for any bishop ever to be sent to America. . . ."[23] "The American Whig" consistently played upon this theme. No one tried to refute it. It was evident to Chauncy, Livingston, Smith, and Scott that the Anglican laity were silently, passively resisting the furtherance of an episcopal plan. Article thirteen in "The American Whig" stated flatly that the Americans from Maryland to Georgia were unsympathetic to an American bishop.[24] But Dr. Johnson and Thomas B. Chandler, aided by their zealous brethren, Charles Inglis, Samuel Seabury, Myles Cooper, and Robert McKean, refused to recognize this fact.

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[21] Anonymous, 'Letter Concerning An American Bishop to T. B. Chandler," 1768.

[22] Ibid., p. 13.

[23] Ibid., p. 14.

A careful examination of the records of the Connecticut churches reveals no evidence that the laity supported the fourteen Anglican clergy of the colony in their quest for a bishop. This is more remarkable when it is pointed out that there were thirty churches and 1,501 Anglican families in Connecticut in 1761.[25] Besides, the two most prominent Anglican laymen of the colony, William Samuel Johnson and Godfrey Malbone, did not endorse the episcopal plan.

Godfrey Malbone was a classmate of the Bishop of Bangor at Queen's College, Oxford. In 1769, Malbone moved to Pomfret, Connecticut to relocate his business. Here he helped to build an Anglican church and subscribed to its support. He wrote to the Bishop of Bangor to procure a pastor, and

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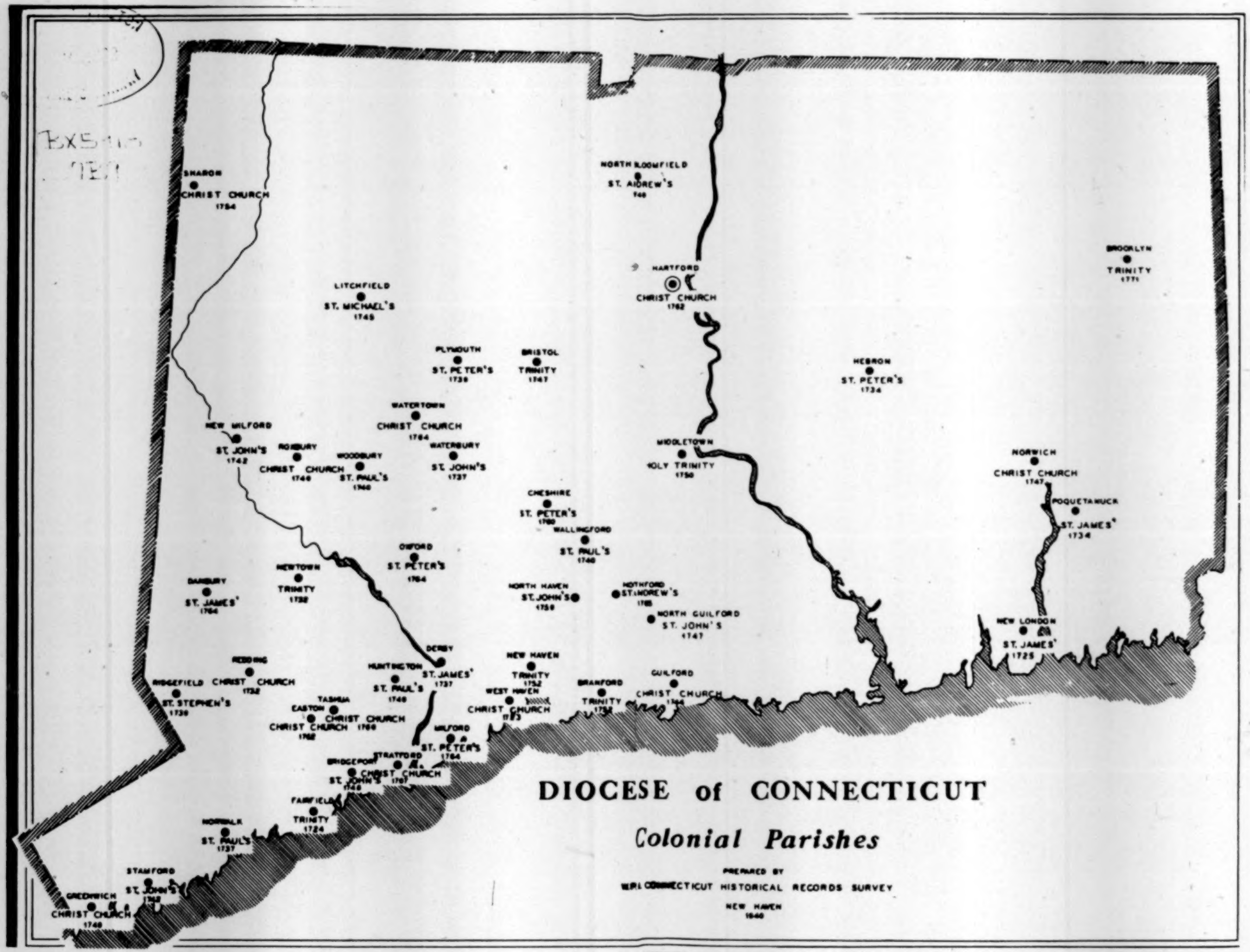
[24] "The American Whig" No. 13, June 8, 1768. Chauncy reiterated this argument three times in his Appeal Answered, pp. 181-182, 186.

[25] Franklin B. Dexter (ed.), The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles. (3 vols.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), I, p. 393.


SHARON
CHRIST CHURCH
1754
LITCHFIELD
ST. MICHAEL'S
1745
NORTH BLOOMFIELD
ST. ANDREW'S
740
HARTFORD
CHRIST CHURCH
1762
BROOKLYN
TRINITY
1771
PLYMOUTH
ST. PETER'S
1739
BRISTOL
TRINITY
1747
HEBRON
ST. PETER'S
1734
WATERTOWN
CHRIST CHURCH
1764
NEW MILFORD
ST. JOHN'S
1742
ROXBURY
CHRIST CHURCH
1740
WOODBURY
ST. PAUL'S
1740
WATERBURY
ST. JOHN'S
1737
MIDDLETOWN
HOLY TRINITY
1750
NORWICH
CHRIST CHURCH
1747
POQUETANUCK
ST. JAMES'
1734
CHESHIRE
ST. PETER'S
1760
WALLINGFORD
ST. PAUL'S
1740
OXFORD
ST. PETER'S
1764
NEWTOWN
TRINITY
1732
DANBURY
ST. JAMES'
1764
NORTH HAVEN
ST. JOHN'S
1759
NOTHFORD
ST. ANDREW'S
1765
NORTH GUILFORD
ST. JOHN'S
1747
NEW LONDON
ST. JAMES'
1725
REDDING
CHRIST CHURCH
1732
RIDGEFIELD
ST. STEPHEN'S
1739
DERBY
ST. JAMES'
1737
HUNTINGTON
ST. PAUL'S
1749
NEW HAVEN
TRINITY
1752
WEST HAVEN
CHRIST CHURCH
1723
BRANFORD
TRINITY
1752
GUILFORD
CHRIST CHURCH
1744
TASHUA
CHRIST CHURCH
1760
EASTON
CHRIST CHURCH
1762
MILFORD
ST. PETER'S
1764
STRATFORD
CHRIST CHURCH
1707
BRIDGEPORT
ST. JOHN'S
1748
FAIRFIELD
TRINITY
1724
NORWALK
ST. PAUL'S
1737
STAMFORD
ST. JOHN'S
1742
GREENWICH
CHRIST CHURCH
1749

DIOCESE of CONNECTICUT

Colonial Parishes

PREPARED BY
W.P.A. CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY
NEW HAVEN
1940

bitterly complained of the ecclesiastical tyranny of the Independents, whereby the Anglicans in Connecticut were taxed to support the Congregational church. But Malbone never once hinted that a bishop was the answer to any or all of these problems or that he or his fellow churchmen desired one.[26]

The usual way that churchwardens of a parish handled their problems was to correspond with Dr. Johnson or with Dr. Burton, secretary of the S.P.G. in England. In this manner they frequently requested advice, support, or a pastor. In July 1768 the churchwardens of Guilford, Connecticut wrote to the S.P.G. to protest the removal of their pastor, Bela Hubbard. But there was no hint that a bishop in America would aid in the solution of their problem. At least six churches in Connecticut had similar problems, but no one intimated that a bishop in America was desired. Every indication points to the fact that the laity were perfectly content to deal with Dr. Johnson or Dr. Burton on church problems and retain their own local control.[27]

It was ,however, the leading Anglican layman of the province, William Samuel Johnson, who dealt the severest blow of resistance. As the son of Dr. Johnson, he knew the problems of the church. He was also a member of the Connecticut Council and served as a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress.

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[26] Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, pp. 148-58, 179, 185.

[27] *Ibid*., pp. 26, 39, 42, 98, 131, 132.

In the late 1760's he acted as agent for the Connecticut legislature in England. In his responsible position he maintained the respect of both the Anglican and Congregational communities. It was William S. Johnson who carried copies of Dr. Chandler's Appeal to England.[28] The Bishop of Oxford, Robert Lowth, wrote to Dr. Johnson, "I sometimes talk over these matters with much freedom with your worthy son, . . .; as I receive of him the best information of everything relating to the affairs in America."[29] In the summer of 1769 William S. Johnson wrote to his father, "I cannot but say I am glad your controversy about American bishops seems to be near its end, since I am afraid it can have no very good effects there, and it produces none at all here. It is surprising how little attention is paid to it."[30]

It was William S. Johnson who informed his father that he could not promote an American bishop as long as there was the slightest possibility of political appendage to the office.[31] In his words and attitude William S. Johnson expressed the position of many of his contemporary Anglicans. Although the laity in general in Connecticut was very careful in its statements on the episcopal problem, they showed no enthusiasm for a bishop, nor did they cooperate with the zealous clergymen who followed the lead of Dr. Johnson and Thomas B. Chandler.

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[28] Thomas B. Chandler to Dr. Burton, 4 December 1767. (Photo copies of S.P.G. Correspondence, New Jersey Collection 1701-1783, Rutgers University Library.)

[29] Bishop Lowth to Dr. Johnson, 3 May 1768. Chandler, Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D., pp. 202-203.

[30] E. Edwards Beardsley, The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut (2 vols.; New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869), p. 264.

[31] Nelson R. Burr, The Story of the Diocese of Connecticut (Church Mission Publishing Co., Hartford: Connecticut, 1962), p. 131.

A position similar to the one taken by the Anglicans in Connecticut existed in Massachusetts. In this province there were eleven clergymen who served the 769 families of the Anglican communion.[32] Dr. Henry Caner was the senior clergyman on the basis of experience and service. The Massachusetts clergy met separately from their Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey brethren in 1766 and 1767. However, they complied with Dr. Johnson's request that they join in petitioning for a bishop. The Massachusetts convention forwarded its request, but it contained this qualification: "we do however think ourselves happy in this, that the Society will omit no favorable opportunity of representing the advantages that may accrue to the colonies to religion and to the British interest by condescending to this request."[33] Thus they made it plain that they were not trying to supersede the authority of the S.P.G. and force the issue.

When the S.P.G. forwarded no instructions, indicating that they had no immediate interest in an American bishop, the Massachusetts clergy at their next convention in 1768 did not renew their petition. Nor did they renew it again before the Revolutionary War. Instead they continued to perform their duties as faithful missionaries of the S.P.G. and priests of the Anglican church. Dr. Caner, who corresponded with Archbishop Secker, saw to it that his associates did not get carried away with the enthusiasm that motivated the New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut clergy. The withdrawal of Massachusetts' support in 1768, at the height of the conflict, was significant. Dr. Johnson and Chandler both had stated that success depended upon a united petition to the English bishops. This rift in the Anglican position was keenly felt by them.

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[32] Ezra Stiles Diary, op. cit., V. 1, p. 393.

[33] William Stevens Perry (ed.), Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church - Massachusetts (Printed Privately, 1873), III, p. 531.

The same pattern of local church cooperation with the S.P.G. missionaries and the Society in England which existed in Connecticut and Massachusetts also prevailed in New York and New Jersey. In all four colonies the local church vestry made recommendations to the Society, petitioned for a minister, pledged partial support, and dealt strictly with local church administration. It was up to the Society to grant or deny a request, assign ministers, and oversee the conduct of the clergy. The vast majority of the churches in this area were subsidized directly or indirectly by the S.P.G. because the Society contributed partial support for the missionaries. Local vestries, regardless of their attitude about bishops, were very careful not to offend the Society and possibly lose their assistance. If the S.P.G. had pushed the plan for a colonial bishop, the local church officials would really have been put on the spot and lay opposition would have been far more open. But the church wardens and vestrymen were not confronted directly with the episcopal problem.

There was, however, occasionally a church that was determined to have complete control over its minister. The Anglican church at Rye, New York, demonstrated an unusually strong desire toward self-rule in the 1760's. Their pastor, James Wetmore, died in 1762, and the vestry felt it should be permitted to invite a minister of its choice. Without consulting the S.P.G., the vestry invited Ebenezer Punderson, of Connecticut to be minister. It also happened that Solomon Palmer of New Haven, Connecticut, wanted the S.P.G. to assign him to Grace Church, Rye, and he appealed to Dr. Johnson to assist him. The vestry of Grace Church determined that Punderson was their man, and they informed Palmer "we did then with one general voice give him Punderson an invitation to be our pastor, and he with our great satisfaction favoured us with his acceptance of it."[34] Peter Jay, the most outspoken member of the vestry, cautioned Dr. Johnson that "if there should be another appointment whereof you entertain some fear, the consequences may prove unfortunate."[35] The exact meaning of Jay's implied threat was not stated, but obviously the local church could reduce its share of the minister's support. Furthermore, it could make conditions so uncomfortable for an unpopular clergyman that he could not remain. There was no support for a bishop among the lay officials of Grace Church, Rye, because he might thwart their desires.

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[34] Church Official to Solomon Palmer, 21 February 1763. (Microfilm S.P.G. papers for the American Colonies, 1760-1770. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.)

In other cases the churches of Albany, Hempstead and Jamaica, Long Island, and Westchester dealt with the S.P.G. to procure a minister. There is no evidence that any of their vestries suggested or intimated that a bishop for America was desired. On the basis of their written requests to the S.P.G. they were not a part of any scheme or plot to secure a bishop for America.

In the late 1760's there were at least seven churches in New Jersey that had occasion to correspond with the Society in England to procure a pastor. There was no reference to a bishop made by any of them.[36] In fact, Thomas B. Chandler, pastor at Elizabeth Town, admitted to Dr. Burton, secretary of the S.P.G., that "the Lord bishop of London in a very condescending letter has intimated his opinion, that it would have been better to have omitted the two first sections of the Appeal, and not to have introduced the common subject of Episcopacy into the debate."[37] Although Chandler was clearly shocked at the reaction of Bishop Terrick, he did not take the hint and discontinue his pro-episcopal activities.

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[35] Peter Jay to Dr. Johnson, 1 December 1762. Ibid.

[36] Photo copies of S.P.G. correspondence for New Jersey (Rutgers University Library).

The Standing Committee of the S.P.G., which usually met four times a year in England, gave no written instructions or encouragement to the missionaries in America to agitate for a resident bishop. It was this body which received correspondence from the American missionaries and acted upon it. It was normal procedure for the Committee to record the action it took on a request immediately below a copy of the request in their minutes. If no action was taken, the space was left blank.[38] A few examples will demonstrate that the S.P.G. in the 1760's and 1770's was not actively or intentionally encouraging the idea of an American bishop. For example, on June 24, 1768, a copy of Chandler's Appeal was received and filed with the minutes without any comment. When Samuel Auchmuty informed the Committee that Sir William Johnson had made a generous offer of land to support a bishop in America, there was not even a word of thanks recorded.[39] It was more than a year before Sir William Johnson was thanked by the Society for his offer. Even then, there was no mention of a bishop in the letter of appreciation.[40]

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[37] Thomas B. Chandler to Dr. Burton, 24 June 1768. Ibid.

[38] Minutes of the Standing Committee, 1760-1775. (Microfilm, Library of Congress.)

[39] Samuel Auchmuty to Standing Committee of S.P.G., 23 January 1768. Ibid.

While the laymen of the various parishes in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey coveted their right to work out their church problems with the S.P.G. and the local missionary, they had to be extremely careful not to offend the society or the bishops in England. The vast majority of the missionaries in New England were subsidized by the S.P.G. Thus they could not openly oppose the episcopal plan without running the risk of antagonizing the officials in England and losing their financial support. But on the other hand they effectively demonstrated their disapproval of Dr. Johnson's and Chandler's plan by denying their support.[41]

The passive resistance of the laity and the withdrawal of the support of the Massachusetts Anglican clergy from the active support of the episcopal plan depressed Dr. Johnson. Moreover, Dr. Johnson and Thomas B. Chandler had a serious disagreement over the plan for a resident bishop. Dr. Johnson was ready to accept an Anglican bishop in Canada. It was this which sparked Chandler's reply. On September 9, 1768, he wrote,

> I am so unfortunate as to differ in opinion from you in some points, but I believe in no [ne] that are of much consequence, unless the Canadian episcopate may be called so. For

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[40] S.P.G. to Sir William Johnson, 16 March 1769. Ibid.

[41] Perry, Massachusetts, pp. 469, 470, 520, 529, 538.

> the impropriety and uselessness, and was it not that you think otherwise, I would almost venture to say the ridiculousness of such an appointment, are points in which I am at present very clear - but I have not time and room to assign the reasons.[42]

This marked difference of opinion between the two American leaders for the episcopate was bound to have repercussions. It is a noticeable fact that Dr. Johnson played a progressively minor role from this time. In contrast, Thomas B. Chandler became more prominent. It seemed that this shift in leadership did not disturb the clergy. At this time Dr. Johnson was in his late sixties. Chandler was in his early forties and a vigorous personality and writer. It appeared that the ascendency of Chandler intensified the drive for a bishop, but Dr. Johnson had recognized certain facts Chandler refused to admit.

As early as 1767 Dr. Johnson, Chandler, and several Anglican clergy knew that the Bishop of London disapproved of their convention.[43] Bishop Terrick advised them ". . . whatever are our sentiments or wishes, we must leave it to the discretion and wisdom of government to choose the time for adopting that measure."[44] In addition, the Bishop of Oxford wrote a few months later, "as to the great and important design of an American episcopate I see no immediate prospect of its being carried into execution."[45] A still more serious setback was the death of Archbishop Secker in 1768. His skill and enthusiasm had kept the episcopal plan alive in England. As late as November, 1766, Dr. Johnson urged him,

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[42] Thomas B. Chandler to Dr. Johnson, 9 September 1768. Ibid., I, pp. 446-47.

[43] Fulham Papers in Lambeth Palace (40 vols.; Microfilmed on thirteen reels in Library of Congress), VI, No. 168.

[44] Chandler, Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D., p. 201.

> it therefore plainly seems to me that if the state will not permit the church to enjoy the episcopal government it is her duty to provide for herself the consequences that it will. I humbly beg leave, therefore, ...to suggest whether it is not incumbent upon the bishops in faithfulness to the church and to their own sacred order, to unite in insisting that bishops be sent into America. . . .If the church must go into a state of open persecution, she must and ought, rather than to let her bishops cease to be, . . ., or dwindle into merely worldly political creatures, instead of truly spiritual persons.[46]

Dr. Johnson was really urging the English bishops to take the American request for a bishop into their own hands and grant it in spite of what the government might think or do. This proposal was perhaps the last desperate effort of Dr. Johnson to win a bishop for America, but it was ignored.

When Archbishop Secker died, there was no one in England to whom Dr. Johnson or the other American Anglican clergy could write so frankly and freely. Moreover, they lost the staunchest champion for an American episcopate that they had in England. The number of Anglicans who actively supported the episcopal scheme was so small in New England,

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[45] Bishop Lowth to Dr. Johnson, 3 May 1768. Ibid., pp. 202-203.

[46] Dr. Johnson to Archbishop Secker, 10 November 1766. Schneiders, op. cit., I, p. 378.

New York, and New Jersey that the loss of a major leader like Archbishop Secker was a serious blow. The Bishop of Lichfield, Cornwallis, who succeeded Secker to Canterbury did not show any significant interest in the American wing of the Anglican Church.[47] In spite of these facts which depressed Dr. Johnson, Chandler exhibited continued optimism. To Dr. Johnson he wrote in March, 1771,

> we have not yet heard from the clergy of Virginia and Carolina; but I think there is no great reason to fear but they will concur in a measure which has been universally adopted by their brethren in all the other colonies; after which it appears to me impossible that our scheme should be longer frustrated.[48]

The 1766 and 1767 Elizabeth Town Conventions got the pro-episcopal scheme off to an ambitious start, but the plan did not gain the unanimous support among Anglicans its proponents sought. The opposition of the New England Congregationalists and the New York Presbyterians was not surprising, but the counter-proposal of Richard Peters and William Smith, coupled with the criticism of the episcopal scheme by Samuel Auchmuty, were causes for reflection. Then the conspicuous absence of lay endorsements among the Anglicans was a sure sign that the promoters of a colonial bishop were meeting serious, if passive, resistance. If it had not been for the indomitable determination of Chandler and a few of his associates, the episcopal plan would have been discontinued, but this coterie continued to press the issue. Not even the negative advice of three of the English bishops was able to dampen their zeal.

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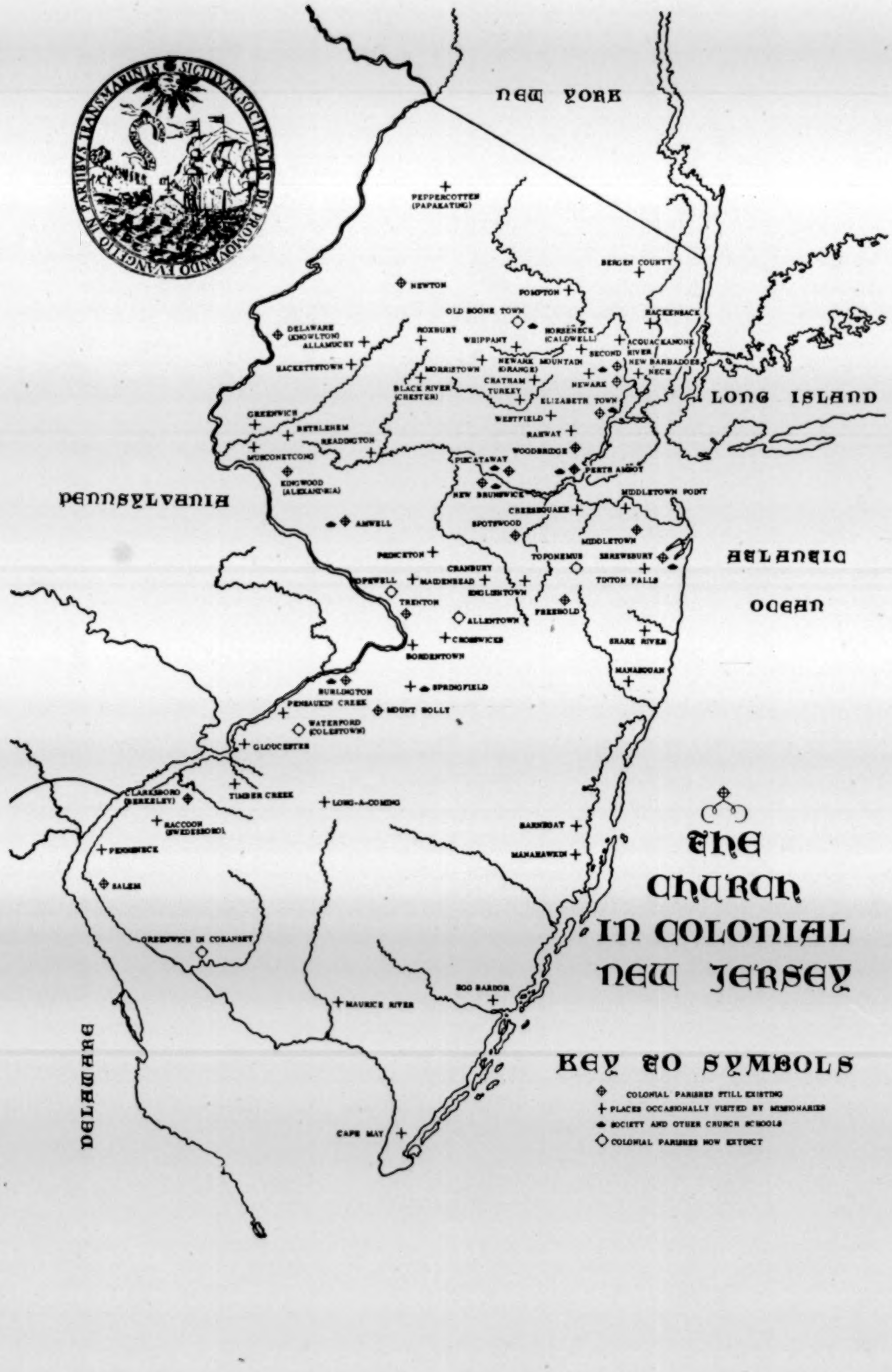
[47] Hartshorne, op. cit., p. 356.

[48] Thomas B. Chandler to Dr. Johnson, 14 March 1771. Schneiders, op. cit., I, p. 477.



THE CHURCH IN COLONIAL NEW JERSEY

SIGILLUM SOCIETATIS DE PROMOVENDO EVANGELIO IN PARTIBUS TRANSMARINIS
NEW YORK
PEPPERCOTTEN (PAPAKATING)
BERGEN COUNTY
NEWTON
POMPTON
OLD BOONE TOWN
HACKENSACK
DELAWARE (KNOWLTON)
ALLAMUCHY
ROXBURY
WHIPPANY
HORSENECK (CALDWELL)
ACQUACKANONK
SECOND RIVER
NEW BARBADOES NECK
HACKETTSTOWN
MORRISTOWN
NEWARK MOUNTAIN (ORANGE)
NEWARK
CHATHAM
TURKEY
BLACK RIVER (CHESTER)
ELIZABETH TOWN
LONG ISLAND
GREENWICH
BETHLEHEM
WESTFIELD
RAHWAY
READINGTON
MUSCONETCONG
WOODBRIDGE
PISCATAWAY
PERTH AMBOY
KINGWOOD (ALEXANDRIA)
NEW BRUNSWICK
MIDDLETOWN POINT
PENNSYLVANIA
CHEESQUAKE
AMWELL
SPOTSWOOD
MIDDLETOWN
PRINCETON
TOPONEMUS
SHREWSBURY
ATLANTIC
CRANBURY
HOPEWELL
MAIDENHEAD
ENGLISHTOWN
TINTON FALLS
TRENTON
OCEAN
ALLENTOWN
FREEHOLD
CROSSWICKS
SHARK RIVER
BORDENTOWN
MANASQUAN
BURLINGTON
SPRINGFIELD
PENSAUKIN CREEK
MOUNT HOLLY
WATERFORD (COLESTOWN)
GLOUCESTER
CLARKSBORO (BERKELEY)
TIMBER CREEK
LONG-A-COMING
RACCOON (SWEDESBORO)
BARNEGAT
PENNSNECK
MANAHAWKIN
SALEM
GREENWICH IN COHANSEY
EGG HARBOR
MAURICE RIVER
DELAWARE
CAPE MAY
KEY TO SYMBOLS
⊕ COLONIAL PARISHES STILL EXISTING
+ PLACES OCCASIONALLY VISITED BY MISSIONARIES
● SOCIETY AND OTHER CHURCH SCHOOLS
◇ COLONIAL PARISHES NOW EXTINCT

CHAPTER III

PENNSYLVANIA RESISTANCE

In Pennsylvania the Anglican Church was in a much different position from what it was in New England, New York, or New Jersey. In the first place Pennsylvania was a proprietary colony and the proprietor, Thomas Penn, and the Lieutenant Governor, John Penn, were members of the Anglican Church. Although the Anglican Church was not established in Pennsylvania, it was not discriminated against by another religious establishment. In fact, the interest of the Penn family in the welfare of the church was one reason for its growth.[1] There were nineteen Anglican churches served by eleven clergymen in 1750.[2] By comparison there were fifty-six Presbyterian churches. Mr. Craig, the S.P.G. missionary stationed at Chester, reported in 1764 that of a population between 200,000 and 300,000 not more than 1/50th could be counted of the Church of England.[3] These figures were based on a rough estimate, but they do give an idea of the relative numerical position of the Anglicans in Pennsylvania. Without the favor of the proprietor and capable leadership within the church the six or seven thousand Anglicans in Pennsylvania could have been insignificant in the total population.

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[1] Penn Correspondence, 10 vols.; Historical Society of Pennsylvania, VIII, p. 225.

[2] Gaustad, op. cit., p. 167.

[3] William S. Perry (ed.), Papers of the Church in Pennsylvania, 1680-1778 (Privately Printed, 1871), p. 361.

Thomas Penn and Lady Juliana frequently entertained the Anglican clergy from Pennsylvania in England. On March 7, 1767, Thomas Penn informed William Smith that John Andrews and Samuel Magaw, who were in England to obtain ordination, were entertained in his home. Furthermore, Penn was impressed by their training which they had received at the College of Philadelphia.[4] On other occasions Penn welcomed to his home William Smith, Richard Peters, and Jacob Duché as well as the S.P.G. missionaries bound for Pennsylvania.

Thomas Penn did not consider the trip to England a hardship for the prospective clergyman. It is possible that he wanted to meet personally every clergyman who served in his colony. At any rate, he saw no need for a resident bishop in America. He wrote to Richard Peters on May 18, 1767, "I cannot think it so hard a thing for persons to come over for Orders and an appointment to a mission, as it is but once, and keeps up some sort of dependence on the mother country."[5] Therefore, the Anglican leaders in Pennsylvania had no doubt about the attitude of the proprietor toward an episcopal scheme. Besides, Penn was not interested in promoting an ecclesiastical official for America whose authority might rival his own.

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[4] Thomas Penn to William Smith, 7 March 1767. Penn Correspondence, HSP, IX, p. 102.

[5] Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, 18 May 1767. Penn Correspondence, HSP, IX, p. 110.

Thomas Penn was greatly concerned when Thomas Barton, S.P.G. missionary at Lancaster, informed the proprietor that he intended to seek induction into a parish in Maryland. On June 17, 1767, Thomas Penn confessed to Barton,

> I am much concerned to find that the missionaries have suffered so much, and that you are so uneasy in your situation as to have asked leave to move into Maryland, the Society either have offered, or intend to offer you an addition to your salary, or some other encouragement if you stay in Pennsylvania, and I have desired Mr. Hamilton who is upon his return to talk to you on this affair. . .and to make you a present from me, if you do not put that design in execution.[6]

No other proprietor or governmental official, including the Bishop of London, took as personal an interest as Penn in the welfare of the Anglican clergy in Pennsylvania.

In this case Barton was persuaded to remain at Lancaster. It was obvious from this instance that Thomas Penn wanted good relations with the Anglican clergy in Pennsylvania, and he displayed his favor toward the S.P.G. and the church in still other ways. In England Penn donated his library to the Society along with financial contributions.[7]

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[6] Thomas Penn to Thomas Barton, 17 June 1767. Penn Correspondence, HSP, IX, p. 132.

[7] Dr. Burton to Richard Peters, 8 November 1770. Letters of Richard Peters, 8 vols.; HSP, Bound 1912, VII, p. 14.

He also made land available for new churches in Reading and York. Besides, Penn made it a point to offer his services as a representative to the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury for the Anglicans in Pennsylvania.

The Anglican Church in the colony was primarily influenced by William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia and Richard Peters, rector of Christ Church. In the case of Richard Peters, he had served the Penn family for many years in the land office and as secretary of the provincial council. After his installation as pastor of Christ Church, he retained his seat on the provincial council. Thomas Penn continued to consult him on land problems, and Peters retained the favor of the Penns until his death. In his relationship with Christ Church, Richard Peters demonstrated his ability as a minister. From 1763 to 1775 he served with uninterrupted good will between himself and the congregation. At times Peters requested to be absent from the parish to do business for the proprietor. The vestry always granted his request for such leaves and expressed interest that he not overtax his health with added work. In the early 1770's when Peters' health did begin to fail, the vestry wanted him to remain as pastor. However, Peters terminated his services when he felt it was wise. He projected a benign and constructive influence in both church and colony.[8]

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[8] Vestry Register of Christ's Church and St. Peter's Churches, 1760-1784, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, pp. 184, 208, 249.

William Smith was a forceful personality and at times a domineering individual. He did not hesitate to try to control personally some of the S.P.G. missionaries in Pennsylvania. Although he had no authority to do so, he prevented Hugh Niell of Oxford from serving St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia in 1767. The result was that Niell sought and received induction into a Maryland parish.[9] This problem erupted when St. Paul's invited Niell there to preach. Neill preferred St. Paul's to his assignment at Oxford. Smith, however, objected and prevented the transfer from Oxford to St. Paul. In the end Pennsylvania lost a minister at a time when it could ill afford it. In spite of the need for ministers, in 1767 Smith objected to the ordination of Mr. Spencer, Mr. Dunlap, and Mr. Sturgeon because one of their recommenders to the Bishop of London was Benjamin Franklin, a political enemy of Smith's.[10] In reality, Smith was trying to act the part of a commissary though he had no commission for the office. The plan for a commissary he introduced through Peters to the Elizabeth Town convention was probably another step in his effort to exercise authority over his clerical associates.

It is entirely possible that the clergy at the Elizabeth Town convention of 1766 objected to Smith's proposal for commissaries because they saw a possibility that he might be commissioned one. If that happened, they knew that they could receive the same stern treatment that Neill and others had received. Moreover, a commissary would have authority to report directly to the hierarchy in England. This position they did not want recreated and definitely not with a commission for Smith. There was no hint that Smith might be consecrated bishop, but if that had happened, it probably would have scuttled the episcopal scheme. In 1766 and 1767 no one was promoting an American for the office and certainly not William Smith.

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[9] Perry, Papers of the Church in Pennsylvania, pp. 417-19.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 421-22.

In Pennsylvania the Anglicans and Presbyterians had learned to exist with their differences. The vice-provost of the College of Philadelphia, Francis Alison, was the leader of the Presbyterians. There was no legally established church and freedom of worship was granted to all, so it was necessary that religious bodies learn to exist side by side. The result was that Pennsylvania had a unique variety of religious denominations practicing their faith, whereas many other colonies such as Massachusetts had laws to punish heresy.[11] But the religious toleration did not mean that the religious parties saw eye to eye; for in political matters the Presbyterians and Anglicans usually worked against the Quakers, who dominated the legislature.

In this environment it was understandable that Peters and Smith were in no position to become leaders in the episcopal scheme. The favor which they enjoyed from the proprietors could be easily lost by a controversy which involved the colony with the home government. It was imperative that religious controversy not erupt at that time because the Quakers were urging the Crown to revoke the proprietary charter and make Pennsylvania a royal colony.[12] Ironically in Pennsylvania in the mid 1760's the Presbyterians and the Anglicans found themselves on the same side of a major political issue. While the Quakers in cooperation with Benjamin Franklin plotted the overthrow of the proprietary government, many of the Anglicans and the Presbyterians supported the proprietors. Although it was understandable that the Anglicans supported the Penns, one would expect the Presbyterians automatically to oppose the proprietors because of the close affiliation with Anglicanism.[13] The reason for this alliance was that the Presbyterians disliked royal government more than proprietary government, and they disliked the Quakers, who wanted royal government in Pennsylvania. Therefore, the traditional ecclesiastical antagonists found themselves on the same side of the issue. In fact, in Pennsylvania both the Anglicans and Presbyterians conducted themselves with a higher degree of mutual respect and cooperation than in any other American colony of their day. Even in the

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[11] Sydney George Fisher, The Making of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1896), p. 209.

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[12] Theodore Thayer, Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740-1776. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1953), p. 91.

[13] Ibid., p. 102.

1760's politics could make unusual alliances.[14]

In the light of these facts, it was logical that Richard Peters registered positive resistance at the Elizabeth Town convention. He and Smith went further in their efforts to resist or minimize the issue. For example, both promptly advised the Bishop of London that the New Jersey convention was too emotional and came at the wrong time. Smith promptly informed Bishop Terrick, "Mr. Peters attended now and bore his testimony against these resolves. . . . He was milder, I believe, than I should have been. . . ."[15] Richard Peters reported for himself on November 14 that

> they are really good people and some of them very sensible as Doctor Chandler, Mr. Danbury, Mr. Mc Kean, and Mr. Cook. In short they are all diligent in their cares and have religion at heart, but for all this they cannot observe any temper in the affair of bishops and it is just so with the New York clergy as I hear and have seen a little of it in some of them. . . .They did not take it amiss in me for dissenting from them. . . .My speech tho' well taken did not cool them . . . .[16]

The protests of Smith and Peters to the Bishop of London weakened the case which the zealous churchmen were determined to make. Perhaps this conflict of opinion partly explains the reason why Bishop Terrick never became too closely involved with the American church.[17] But it was extremely important that Smith and Peters registered their resistance in England with Bishop Terrick and also the S.P.G. because both were experienced churchmen and recognized leaders of the Anglican Church in America.[18] Furthermore, the disaffection of Smith and Peters toward the episcopal scheme was sure to influence younger and less experienced clergymen. If these two opposed it, there was the further possibility that others would do the same once the plan became public.

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[14] Ibid., p. 97.

[15] William Smith to Bishop Terrick, 13 November 1766. Perry, Papers of the Church in Pennsylvania. p. 415.

[16] Richard Peters to Bishop Terrick, 14 November 1766. Ibid., p. 410.

[17] T. B. Chandler, Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D., pp. 200-201.

Peters did not believe that his vocal resistance at the New Jersey convention caused personal resentment toward him, but a different reaction occurred in respect to William Smith. Chandler disclosed this problem when he wrote to Dr. Johnson in October 1766.

> Last week I was in Philadelphia, and payed my respects to the American Colossus. I was treated with politeness by him and he was very desirous to know the reasons of the general disaffection of the clergy of our last convention towards him. I thought it not improper to assign them without disguise or equivocation. . . .I fear it will not be easy for him to prove that he has a due degree of affection either for the church or her clergy, or right principles.[19]

Although Smith did not attend the convention, his proposal for commissaries caused the clergy present to suspect his ambition. Chandler did not hide his personal displeasure at Smith's proposal, and this was probably the last time he tried to persuade Smith to join in support for a bishop.

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[18] Horace W. Smith, Life and Correspondence of the Reverend William Smith, D.D. (2 vols.; Philadelphia: Ferguson Bros. & Co., 1880) I, p. 414.

[19] Thomas B. Chandler to Dr. Johnson, 19 October 1766. Schneiders, op. cit., I, pp. 370-71.

Because of Smith's unwillingness to join forces, it appears that Chandler suspected his loyalty to the Anglican church. Unfortunately Chandler does not disclose the specific objections of the Elizabeth Town convention toward Smith, but it is clear that he was trying to separate Smith from the main body of Anglican clergy.

This expressed attitude of distrust on the part of the zealous churchmen did not deter Smith from opposing the episcopal scheme again when it appeared in print. In 1767 Chandler's Appeal was published. Again Smith registered his personal disapproval to the Bishop of London.

> I wrote your lordship that I had much reason to fear the extraordinary warmth of the Jersey conventions might do hurt. Their addresses and Dr. Chandler's appeal about bishops for America, . . .have raised a great flame. There is nothing but writing in every newspaper. I could not approve of any appeals to the public here about bishops, ...[20]

Smith explained that he objected because there was already too much controversy over episcopacy.

At the same time that Smith was involved in the more dramatic acts of resistance, Peters was giving aid and comfort to the lone Anglican clergyman from New York who openly opposed the episcopal scheme. Throughout the controversy Samuel Auchmuty, rector of Trinity Church, New York, maintained a private correspondence with Peters. In 1766 Auchmuty had expressed his personal reservation about the New

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[20] William Smith to Bishop Terrick, 24 April 1768. Horace W. Smith, op. cit., I, p. 414.

Jersey convention and its plan to Dr. Johnson.[21] By 1767, Auchmuty had broadened his contacts. He wrote to Peters in May, 1767

> I shall want assistance at the convention; for I fear the same spirit will prevail that appeared at the last Jersey one: however I shall give myself little trouble about it. Lords all, and Masters all, I find will not do, either in church or state.[22]

Those who opposed the episcopal scheme or had reservations about it were obviously trying to find a way to dampen the ardor of its advocates and at the same time not disrupt the church.

It is not definite that Auchmuty attended the second Jersey convention in 1767, but he did register his resistance to Chandler, Peters, and Smith. On August 16, 1767, he wrote to Peters,

> we are still fighting, and abusing one another: however upon the whole, we every day gain ground, ...tho' I wish it had never began. Poor Chandler is mauled from all quarters. I told him before he published his Appeal that this would be the consequence, I therefore did not advise the publication, I was not believed, and so the affair went on.[23]

The tone of Auchmuty's letter to Peters seems to suggest that there were others who thought like him, but he unfortunately does not identify them.

It was significant that Auchmuty found sympathetic and understanding support from the two leaders of the Pennsylvania Anglicans. In New York he was surrounded by the zealous Dr. Johnson, Chandler, Charles Inglis, Myles Cooper, and Samuel Seabury. Auchmuty actively supported the educational and missionary programs of the church, but he refused to be coerced into helping to pressure the government and church authorities in England to send a bishop to America.

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[21] Schneiders, op. cit., I, p. 382.

[22] Samuel Auchmuty to Richard Peters, 11 May 1767. Richard Peters Correspondence, HSP, VI, p. 49.

[23] Ibid., VI, No. 61.

Auchmuty shared the latest news he received about episcopacy from England in December 1768. "I have lately received a very affectionate letter from the good Bishop of Oxford - No prospect at present of an American bishop."[24] Auchmuty was willing and ready to relay any information about the difficulty the episcopal scheme encountered. His own interest was directed more to the peace and tranquility of the church. Later, when the episcopal conflict had subsided in New York, he wrote, "we are in perfect peace here in church and state for the present; but how long this calm may hold I will not pretend to say; . . . ."[25]

Auchmuty and Peters felt that in order for the local churches to grow they had to be kept free from controversy. The success of the New York churches was recorded. "Everything managed without a shadow of opposition, as I would have it. My congregation are very quiet and increasing fast. Our new chapel is quite full and we shall soon want another.

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[24] Auchmuty to Peters, 27 December 1768. Ibid., VI, p. 68.

[25] Auchmuty to Peters, 16 December 1770. Ibid., VII, p. 17.

not a pew to be let in either of the churches."[26] To these men it was more important that the church grow and prosper in its respective locations than that its form of church government be completed by the addition of a resident American bishop.

The Anglican leaders in Pennsylvania resisted the episcopal scheme in still another way. It was well known in Anglican circles that Sir William Johnson, imperial Indian agent, had pledged his support to procure a bishop for America. His offer to secure 200,000 acres of land to support the plan spurred the zealous churchmen to intensify their drive. But all the Anglican clergymen who knew of this offer did not register their support. There was considerable correspondence among Sir William Johnson, Richard Peters, and William Smith, and they all knew each other personally, but Smith and Peters never congratulated Johnson on his interest in an American bishop. They discussed Indian problems, land, S.P.G. missionaries, but not once is episcopacy mentioned.[27] This omission on the part of Peters and Smith was no accident. It was another way of resistance. By withholding their concurrence they weakened the impact of the magnanimous offer and limited the support it might have gained in Pennsylvania.

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[26] Auchmuty to Peters, 17 May 1767. Ibid., VI, p. 49.

[27] Sir William Johnson to Richard Peters, 8 July 1768. Ibid., VII, p. 55. This is but one of the many examples of the relationship that existed between Peters and Sir William Johnson.

Since the zealous churchmen of New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut were squarely behind Sir William Johnson's offer, it was obvious that Smith and Peters were resisting them again on another front.

"The American Whig" which Livingston, Smith, and Scott produced in New York was reprinted in the Boston Gazette and the Pennsylvania Journal. In Philadelphia, Francis Alison, John Dickinson, and George Bryan kept the Dissenter position articulate and public. In addition to the reprinting of "The American Whig," Alison and associates composed and had published a series of their own under the title of the "Centinel." In this newspaper series there was more light and less heat displayed than in the New York or Boston series.

The purpose of the "Centinel" was to ask Dr. Chandler a few questions. It was clearly stated that there was a real and legitimate danger in an American bishop because of the political aspect of the office. Also the danger of additional ties with the home government was a threat to the liberties of America. It was too much to expect the Pennsylvania Dissenters to believe that an English bishop could be sent to America without a court, titles, and tithes.[28]

It was specifically pointed out that the establishment of a bishop by the home government via an act of parliament would be direct interference in the internal affairs of the colonies. In view of the recent conflict over the Stamp

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[28] "Centinel" No. 1, Pennsylvania Journal, March 24, 1768.

Act, an ecclesiastical stamp act was unthinkable. Since the people in America would have no say in the selection of the bishop, their interest would in no way be represented. Moreover, the local resources for supporting a bishop and the men he would ordain would not be sufficient. A form of legislated income would inevitably follow.[29]

The argument of the "Centinel" was expressed succinctly.

> Every application therefore, to any other than the legislature of the respective colonies, for laws or regulations relative to our internal police, I consider as an attack upon the liberty of the colonies. . . .If they may, without the consent of the colonies, establish bishopricks and bishops among us, they may appoint revenues for their support, erect spiritual courts, and enforce obedience. . . .[30]

Furthermore, Alison and his associates suggested that

> . . .the episcopal colonies, should try the experiment of importing bishops first; at least, whilst they neglect providing for ecclesiastical superiors, the rejectors of episcopacy may well be excused in opposing their establishment among them, by an act of state.[31]

And the "Centinel" was careful to explain that it did not "intend any reflection on the laity of that communion, nor on all the clergy. The moderation of some is well known; they have endeavored to bring about a reformation in many things, ..."[32]

Although the "Centinel" first appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal on March 24, 1768, it provoked no rebuttal or refutation from the Anglicans in the newspaper until September 8, 1768. The delay of five months suggest that in Pennsylvania neither clergy nor laity were ready to argue in favor of Chandler's Appeal and its proposal for an American bishop. On September 8, 1768, when the first issue of the "Anatomist" appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal, its author was William Smith.[33] In the series entitled the "Anatomist," Smith neither endorsed nor condemned Chandler's plan. Professor Cross in his work gave the impression that Smith, in the "Anatomist," supported the episcopal scheme, but Professor Bridenbaugh correctly argued that Smith was not writing to defend Chandler or his episcopal plan.[34] The internal evidence of the "Anatomist" series clearly shows that Smith was not concerned with Chandler or the episcopal scheme *per se*.

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[29] Ibid., March 24, 1768.

[30] Ibid., April 28, 1768.

[31] Ibid., June 23, 1768.

[32] Ibid., April 14, 1768.

Smith wrote,

> But is Dr. Chandler the Church of England, or the ten thousandeth part of it? or had he any general commission from that church, or even from his own brethren belonging to it in America? This is not pretended; and it is certain, that no more than half a dozen of them ever had an opportunity of seeing his pamphlet till in print, and of that number, it is confidently said, not one to the south of Delaware.[35]

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[33] "Anatomist" No. 1, Pennsylvania Journal, September 8, 1768.

[34] Cross, *op. cit*., pp. 207-210 and Bridenbaugh, *op. cit*., p. 301.

[35] "Anatomist" No. 1, *op. cit*., September 8, 1768.

Smith continued, "if Dr. Chandler has said any thing wrong he should be answered as Dr. Chandler." The real purpose of the series was for Smith a defense of the Anglican church and its traditions.[36] From this point Smith proceeded to delineate the attacks which had been made upon the Anglican church in America by Independents and Presbyterians. The present attack by the "Centinel" was simply another attack in a long series. He reiterated his purpose by saying that he intended ". . .to wipe off the reproaches which they [Independents and Presbyterians] have cast on the Church, which is the main design of this paper."[37]

To be sure, in issue X of the "Anatomist Smith tried to argue that a non-political bishop was theoretically possible. He cited the Danish bishops and the Moravian bishops as examples. In these two cases the bishops ordained, confirmed, and conducted visitations, but they did not hold ecclesiastical courts nor receive titles or tithes. Smith tried to argue that diocesan episcopacy with court, titles, and tithes need not come to America, but William Smith never once intimated that he advocated such a scheme.[38] He merely tried to demonstrate that there was some historical evidence for the non-political bishop which Chandler proposed and the opposition believed to be impossible. Smith's primary concern was the welfare of the American Anglican church and not a particular scheme.

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[36] Ibid., September 8, 1768.

[37] Ibid., September 8, 1768.

[38] Ibid., November 10, 1768.

Furthermore, Smith registered his opposition to the episcopal scheme to Bishop Terrick. He knew Thomas Penn's attitude on the subject.[39] In his personal correspondence he gave no indication that he secretly favored the scheme. If Smith had publicly supported the episcopal scheme in the "Anatomist," it would have contradicted his previous course of action. If Smith had espoused the episcopal scheme, he might have lost favor with Thomas and John Penn. William Smith was too sophisticated to commit a blunder which might alienate him from a major source of his support in Pennsylvania, the College of Philadelphia, and the Anglican church.

The literary feat which William Smith attempted in Pennsylvania was an apparent success. His public non-support was tantamount to a declaration of resistance to the plan of Dr. Johnson and Thomas B. Chandler. By this act he divorced the Anglican church in Pennsylvania from any responsibility for the episcopal scheme, but he maintained its relationship to the best in the Anglican tradition. In Pennsylvania the episcopal controversy was not a prolonged controversy, and did not recur. As a conclusion to this issue in Pennsylvania, Smith proposed that the Anglicans and Presbyterians live peacefully together.

> With the gloomy prospect that seems gathering against us on the other side of the Atlantic, it might be better for you, and for me, to cultivate domestic harmony for the present, and suspend the settlement of our remaining differ-

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[39] See footnotes 5 and 15.

ences to a more convenient season; . . . .[40]

The suggestion was taken and the episcopal plan ceased to be a publicly published or debated subject in Pennsylvania in 1769.

There was another fact which indicated that Peters and Smith had widespread support for their position of resistance. The unpublished Vestry Register of Christ's and St. Peter's Churches, 1760-1784 reveals that Peters served both churches with skill and was held in high esteem throughout this period. If the laity of the churches had objected to the policy of Peters and Smith, they would have let their influence be felt. This was a greater possibility in Pennsylvania than in many other colonies. There were occasions when the vestry alone recommended a man for ordination to the Bishop of London.[41] In New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut the clergy kept this under their control.[42] Also in 1760 the Pennsylvania clergy selected James Humphreys, a layman and printer, as secretary of their convention.[43] This kind of fraternizing with the laity was taboo in New York and Connecticut. Besides, the laity of the three churches in Philadelphia were responsible for the financial support of their churches. In the outlying congregations the

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[40] Ibid., January 12, 1769.

[41] Fulham Papers in Lambeth Palace, Library of Congress, XXIII, Nos. 177 and 180.

[42] Fulham Papers, XXII, No. 268.

[43] Perry, Papers of the Church in Pennsylvania, p. 306.

S.P.G. granted aid, but in Philadelphia the people who paid the pew rents and solicited other funds had a voice.[44]

In 1763 an event happened which demonstrated the power of the laity in the Philadelphia churches. For twenty-three years the Anglican churches had been closed to George Whitefield, the itinerant evangelist. Whitefield was a well known ordained priest in the Anglican church, but many of his fellow clergy did not approve of his dramatic pulpit style and the enthusiasm it frequently evoked. In 1763 the laity of Philadelphia expressed the desire to Richard Peters that Whitefield be permitted to use the Anglican pulpit, and it was granted.[45]

It is, therefore, reasonable to assert that the resistance to the episcopal scheme which Peters expressed at Elizabeth Town and the non-concurrence which Smith espoused in the Pennsylvania press met with the approval of the Anglican laity. It was also important that initially Peters and Smith countered the episcopal scheme with a slightly revised version of the commissary's office. On the one hand they resisted the innovation of a resident bishop; on the other hand they proposed the re-establishment of an office that had been eliminated by default.[46] Thus, their resistance and counter proposal seriously hindered the drive for an American bishop.

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[44] Vestry Register of Christ's Church and St. Peter's Churches, 1760-1784, p. 164.

[45] Perry, op. cit., p. 354.

[46] Schneiders, op. cit., I, p. 370.

CHAPTER IV

MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA OPPOSITION

The Elizabeth Town Convention of 1766 commissioned Dr. Myles Cooper, President of King's College, and Robert McKean, an S.P.G. missionary in New Jersey, to confer with the governors of Maryland and Virginia to solicit their support for the episcopal plan. Dr. Johnson informed John Camm at William and Mary College, "I am, therefore, very apprehensive that our solicitations will fail of gaining the point, unless we could bring it to a general cry, and prevail with the southern provinces to join us."[1] The Anglican church was established by law in both Maryland and Virginia and received considerable support from these governments; therefore, Chesapeake concurrence in the episcopal scheme was understandable important.

The numerical strength of the clergy and church members in both colonies could more than compensate for the lack of support the episcopal plan received in other colonies, if it could be enlisted in the pro-episcopal cause. In 1771 there were approximately two hundred and thirty Anglican clergymen in America. Of this total number, at least one hundred and twenty were in the Maryland and Virginia area. In Maryland the forty-four parishes were worth from £300 to £500 per annum to the pastor.[2] The Virginia churches were a close second in financial support. Furthermore, it was estimated that there were two hundred and seventy thousand members of the Anglican church in this area.[3] On the basis of the numerical and economic strength of the Anglican church in Maryland and Virginia it is probable that it was superior to the rest of the American Anglican communion combined.

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[1] Dr. Johnson to James Camm, 10 April 1767. Schneiders, op. cit., I, pp. 398-99.

The church-state relationship differed in Maryland and Virginia though the church was established in both colonies. Maryland was a proprietary colony and in the 1760's the charter was in the hands of Frederick Calvert, sixth Lord Baltimore. In the proprietary grant, issued to Cecil Calvert in 1632, the ecclesiastical management of the colony was vested in the proprietor.[4] This meant that in the 1760's and 1770's the Anglican clergymen who served in the Maryland establishment had to receive the personal endorsement of Lord Baltimore. In this respect the Anglican church in Maryland was different from any other segment of the Anglican church in America. Furthermore, the ecclesiastical assignments in Maryland were controlled by the governor. Once the Bishop of London ordained a man and the proprietor approved him, it was up to the governor to assign him to a parish. A vestry might petition the governor for a particular clergyman, but the governor was free to make his own decision. In 1756, a petition with one hundred and eighty signatures of parishoners and six vestrymen requested Governor Horatio Sharpe to assign Thomas B. Chandler to Coventry Parish. The governor appointed John Rosse instead.[5]

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[2] William S. Perry (ed.), *Papers of the Church in Maryland, 1694-1775*. (Privately Printed, 1878), p. 336.

[3] Charles Chauncy, *An Appeal to the Public Answered*. (Boston, 1768), p. 115.

[4] Matthew P. Andrews, *History of Maryland: Province and State*. (Garden City, 1929), p. 12.

Once a clergyman was appointed to a parish in Maryland he had tenure. In many respects he was on his own. If he demonstrated service to the government or ability as a clergyman or both, the governor would promote him to a more lucrative parish when one became available. A notable example of this procedure was the case of Jonathan Boucher. In 1770 Governor Sharpe appointed him to Saint Anne's Parish, Annapolis. Boucher was too authoritarian to please many of his vestry, but he was promoted to Queen Anne's Parish in 1771 because he rendered significant service to the colonial government.[6]

In view of the financial support, occupational security, and strength of the church in Maryland, it is not startling to discover that there was a waiting list of applicants and S.P.G. missionaries who eagerly sought induction into the parishes of Maryland.[7] In addition there was no ecclesiastical superior resident in Maryland to control or discipline the clergy. The office of a commissary in Maryland had ceased in 1734 because it conflicted with the proprietor's authority. In the 1760's and 1770's the Anglican church in Maryland was thoroughly the lord proprietor's.[8]

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[5] William H. Browne (ed.), Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe (3 vols.; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1895), III, P. 365.

[6] Nelson W. Rightmyer, Maryland's Established Church (The Church Historical Society: Baltimore, Maryland, 1956), p. 98.

When Dr. Myles Cooper and Robert McKean approached Governor Horatio Sharpe in 1767, they were approaching an ecclesiastical situation quite different from the one in New York, to say nothing of Connecticut, where the Anglicans were a minority and the Congregationalists were established. Maryland was different from Pennsylvania though both were proprietary colonies. Pennsylvania had granted toleration to all religious groups including Anglicanism; Maryland had established the Anglican church. None of the clergy in Maryland received financial aid from the S.P.G. or reported to the Society in an official capacity. Once a clergyman was ordained and settled in a Maryland parish he was separated from the episcopal control of the English bishops. His source of appeal was to the governor, not the Bishop of London.

Governor Sharpe received the episcopal plan from Cooper and McKean, but relayed it and his own thoughts on the subject to Hugh Hamersley, secretary to Lord Baltimore.

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[7] Ibid., p. 109.

[8] Charles A. Barker, The Background of the Revolution in Maryland (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 49.

> In my letter to his Lordship I have transmitted him a plan for introducing and establishing a bishop in North America that was lately put into my hands by two clergymen from the Northward who came hither to consult our clergy thereon and to solicit my countenance, but I thought it my duty to refer them entirely to his Lordship with whose charter rights and prerogatives the establishing of an episcopate here may perhaps eventually interfere, for tho by the scheme the bishop is not to interfere in civil matters and is only to make a tour from time to time in order to confirm and ordain it might be questioned whether all his successors will be satisfied without some greater share of power and influence than that alone will give them.[9]

The governor could easily see that Cooper and McKean had no guarantee that the type of bishop proposed would remain a purely spiritual servant of the church. Even the administrative head of an Anglican establishment, like the New England Congregationalist, was doubtful that a primitive bishop was possible.

Governor Sharpe also reported that he did not approve a request to hold a convention of the Maryland Anglican clergy to discuss the matter. Then the governor added,

> The want of some controlling power over the clergy or rather the exercise of such power in this province is often lamented but I do not think the people would be so well pleased at a resident bishop's being invested therewith as they would to see it lodged with some temporal judges and tho they are not fond of complimenting the governor and council with any power they can well avoid, I really think they would on such occasion prefer them to a bishop.[10]

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[9] Governor Horatio Sharpe to Hugh Hamersley, June 1767, Browne (ed.), Sharpe Correspondence, III, p. 395.

[10] Governor Sharpe to Lord Baltimore, 11 June 1767. Ibid., p. 401.

The people of Maryland, like the governor, were convinced that episcopacy could not be separated from the state or political power. The acceptance of a bishop of any description was, in the minds of the public, inviting an extension of political control, and it is quite likely that this was the majority opinion among Anglicans in Maryland.

On August 13, 1767, Hugh Hamersley gave his opinion on the episcopal scheme to Sharpe. "I am too good an Englishman to wish to see all the colonies united under the same church government. . . ..I am no friend of the episcopal scheme."[11] Thus, Sharpe knew that he had taken the proper course of action in respect to Cooper and McKean's request. Hamersley later forwarded the instructions of Lord Baltimore.

> His Lordship by no means wishes to see an episcopal palace rise in America, or to have St. Peter's chair transferred to Maryland; but is determined to support his charter rights, by whatever body of men attacked, and hopes no branch of the legislature of the province will be wanting to him or themselves in the day of tryal, especially to resist all church attacks, ...[12]

At this point the position of Sharpe was officially one of opposition to the episcopal scheme.

Sharpe was wise in refusing to permit the Maryland Anglican clergy to meet in convention to discuss the episcopal plan. Now he was instructed to be subtle in his dealings with the proponents of the plan. He was directed to

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[11] Hugh Hamersley to Governor Sharpe, 13 August 1767. Browne (ed.), Sharpe Correspondence, III, op. cit., p. 417.

[12] Lord Baltimore to Governor Sharpe, 11 November 1767, Ibid., p. 431.

> . . .suspend for the present communicating the business to either the council or the assembly, ...Let these schemers lay what they have to offer before the assembly in their own names, which may be better taken than for his Lordship to interfere officiously.[13]

In this way the reaction to the episcopal plan would be the responsibility of those who raised the subject. The silent method of resistance maximized the difficulties for the promoters of episcopacy while it minimized the possibility that the proprietor and governor could be charged with prejudice against the church or religion. Furthermore, the governor could remember those who promoted a cause that represented a challenge to the proprietor's rights, and it was certain those clergymen would not be promoted in the Maryland church.

For a short time the episcopal plan was silenced in Maryland. A small group of Anglican clergymen, however, knew how to counter subtlety with subtlety. In August, 1768, Robert Eden was appointed governor of Maryland, though he did not replace Sharpe until June 5, 1769. In this interim period three clergymen, Henry Addison, Bennett Allen, and probably Jonathan Boucher, found an acceptable pretext to call a convention of the clergy, for they proposed organizing a society to provide for ministerial widows and orphans.

There is no question that the group found more interesting subjects to discuss. In 1768, an Ecclesiastical

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[13] _Ibid_., p. 431.

Courts Bill was introduced into the Maryland Assembly. It provided that the governor, three clergymen, and three laymen comprise a spiritual court to regulate the clergy. This committee was to have power to investigate scandalous Anglican clergy and remove them from their parishes. Two or three clergy were even specified as targets worthy of the committee's investigation. The bill passed both houses of the legislature, but Governor Sharpe, who was still acting governor, vetoed it and explained his reasons to Lord Baltimore. In essence the bill intruded upon the proprietor's prerogative of controlling the ecclesiastical appointments in Maryland.[14] Nevertheless, this episode demonstrated that the Marylanders definitely preferred a representative Presbyterian type of church authority rather than a bishop. This caused an alarm amongst some of the Anglican clergy, and Hugh Niell, a recently installed S.P.G. missionary from Pennsylvania, wrote to the Bishop of London that "a presbyterian government was being formed in the Church of England in Maryland."[15]

However, the backers of the Ecclesiastical Courts Bill had laid their plans carefully. On August 1, 1769, Hugh Hamersley wrote to Walter Dulany,

> I have communicated to your Brother what has passed here with the Lord Proprietors Sentiments on the Clergy Bill. His Lordship has no objection

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[14] Perry, *Papers of the Church in Maryland*, p. 340.

[15] Hugh Neill to Bishop of London, 20 September 1768, *Ibid*., p. 338.

> to it, and Mr. Eden and I before his departure both saw the Bishop of London at different times upon the occasion. The Bishop acquainted us that he had no commission of Superintendency over the clergy of America, as Bishop Sherlock had, so that the necessary control must either be in the hands of the Lord Proprietor as Ordinary under his Charter, or in the King by virtue of his Supremacy.[16]

The Ecclesiastical Courts Bill was passed in Maryland, but it failed to become law because the proprietor, Frederick Calvert, died before it could be considered in England. This meant that the Maryland legislature had to re-enact the law and resubmit it. Before this process could be completed the second time the American Revolution erupted into war. Thus the bill was never put in force. The attitude of the Bishop of London, Richard Terrick, is the clearest proof that the English hierarchy was not pressing for an American bishop. After Archbishop Secker's death, the Bishop of London did not assume responsibility for the American Anglican Church. In fact, Bishop Terrick showed no excitement over the form of church authority, other than episcopacy, that was seriously proposed for Maryland.

In Maryland there were a few clergymen who tried to champion the cause of a resident bishop. In particular Jonathan Boucher, who had been promised a parish for three years, was finally installed in 1770 in Saint Anne's, Annapolis. Despite Boucher's promise to teach the children of some of his leading parishoners in addition to his pastoral duties, he became the local instigator in the efforts to further the plan for a bishop.

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[16] Hugh Hamersley to Walter Dulany, 1 August 1769, The Dulany Papers, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.

In September, 1770, Governor Robert Eden received an address from several of the Maryland Anglican clergy, among them Boucher. It stated,

> we have been naturally led to consider the present circumstances of the Maryland clergy, and after the fullest and maturest deliberation we have unanimously resolved that it is highly becoming to make an effort as far as in us lies to introduce if possible episcopacy in America; . . . .[17]

Furthermore, they informed Governor Eden that petitions had been prepared to be sent to the king, Bishop of London, and the proprietor.

Governor Eden proved himself to be master of the situation, for he replied,

> though your address I think imports that it is the act of the whole clergy of the established church, . . .a clearer satisfaction is requisite than what arises from the delivery of a paper by nine clergymen. The proper satisfaction would have been given by the subscription of the clergy individually. . . .I shall take an early opportunity of laying the matter before the general assembly, together with your address and papers attending it.[18]

This proposed action on the part of the governor evoked a prompt reply from the clergy who signed the request. "But they were delivered confessedly for your own perusal and not intended for the general assembly; . . . ."[19] This time only three signed: Henry Addison, Bennett Allen, and Jonathan Boucher. There was little dedicated support for an American bishop in Maryland.

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[17] Petition to Governor Robert Eden, September, 1770. William H. Brown (ed.), Archives of Maryland: Proceedings of the Council of Maryland. (32 vols.; Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1912), XXXII, pp. 379-80.

[18] Governor Eden to Clergy, 15 September 1770, Ibid. p. 384-85.

There was, however, decided opposition to the pro-episcopal efforts of Addison, Allen, and Boucher. The Reverend John Gordon, pastor of St. Michael's, Talbot County, and the Reverend David Love, pastor of All Hallows, Anne Arundel County, wrote to Walter Dulany expressing their disapproval of the activities of Addison, Bennett, and Boucher.

> Mr. Love and I, greatly disgusted with the late addresses of some of our brethren, praying establishment of an American episcopate, have judged it necessary to draw up a counter-address; and we propose, if you approve it, to present it signed by as many of our brethren as shall think proper to join us to the governor.[20]

Gordon and Love seemed confident they could secure a number of clergymen to oppose the episcopal scheme, but there is no evidence to indicate whether the counter-address was prepared or whether Walter Dulany advised for or against it. Since only nine Maryland Anglican clergy had signed their names to a request for a bishop out of a total of fifty-four in the colony, it is possible that several would have joined Gordon and Love if the opportunity had been given.

It is also known that Walter Dulany did his part in opposing the episcopal plan. Jonathan Boucher, at one time his pastor, wrote in retrospect,

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[19] Clergy to Governor Eden, 17 September 1770, Ibid., p. 386.

[20] John Gordon to Walter Dulany, 11 October 1770, The Dulany Papers, MHS.

> the first transaction of any great moment in which I was engaged, was the assistance I gave in a convention of clergy of the province, in which chiefly through my instigation, we petitioned for a bishop. This gave great offence, and for some months neither the governor, nor any of the Dulanys, even so much as spoke to me. Conscious of my having done no more than my duty, I could make no concessions; . . . .[21]

The episcopal question would have again passed into silence had not Jonathan Boucher continued to promote it. In 1771 he was offered Queen Anne's Parish in Prince George County. He accepted, but he did not leave behind his devotion to the episcopal cause. In this parish he declared war on churchmen, clergy and laity alike, who opposed an American episcopate. In a sermon entitled, "On The American Episcopate" he declared, "it is our singular fate to have lived to see a most extraordinary event in church history; professed churchmen fighting the battles of dissenters, and our worst enemies now literally those of our own household."[22] Naturally, Boucher's blunt accusations did not persuade his parishoners to view his cause sympathetically. His dogmatic pronouncements evoked such widespread opposition that eventually he was forced to flee his parish.

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[21] Jonathan Boucher, 19 April 1786. Jonathan Boucher, Reminiscences of an American Loyalist. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), pp. 65-66.

[22] Jonathan Boucher, A View of the Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution. (London: Robinson, 1792), p. 94.

It was unfortunate for Boucher personally that he took such a strong stand for episcopacy. Queen Anne's Parish had petitioned Governor Eden to assign Edward Gantt as their pastor before he sent Boucher. It was well known that Gantt opposed a colonial bishop. In view of these circumstances it was not surprising that Boucher met fierce opposition. He admitted that, "for more than six months I preached, when I did preach, with a pair of loaded pistols lying on the cushion; . . . ."[23] In desperation Boucher wrote to a friend in England, the Reverend Mr. James. On April 4, 1771, he told James,

> I have lately been a good deal employed in sundry efforts towards the promotion of an American Episcopate. It is unhappily for us, exceedingly unpopular:. . . .Do you talk or correspond with any body interested in this matter?[24]

It is obvious that Boucher was desperate for aid.

At this time the vestry of Queen Anne's decided to chastise their pastor publicly in the newspapers. In March, 1773, Boucher was publicly accused of ignoring the power of the vestry in matters of finance and administration. Samuel Chase and William Paca, members of the vestry, expressed the opposition.

> We contend that a power was lodged in the parishioners to delegate their authority with respect to parochial matters into the hands of a vestry . . .and we quote custom and usage as an additional argument to prove the fact. . . .It is the

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[23] Boucher, Reminiscences, op. cit., p. 113.

[24] The Reverend Jonathan Boucher to Mr. James, 4 April 1771, Maryland Historical Magazine, VIII, Baltimore, 1913, p. 177.

> common law that shields us against the introduction of episcopacy, protects us against the fury of priests and keeps at a distance - beyond the seas - all their infernal jurisdictions. . . .[25]

Moreover, these outspoken laymen confronted their pastor publicly with this statement: "a considerable majority of the worthy clergy in this government of Maryland are against the introduction of an episcopate. . .yet you still avow yourself a warm advocate for the measure. . . ."[26] Only one apologist came to Boucher's defense in the newspaper, while several anonymous authors, who claimed to be churchmen, supported Chase and Paca. The newspaper battle among Anglicans was lopsided, and Boucher was on the short end.

The lack of interest in an American episcopate on the part of the majority of the Anglican clergy in Maryland was the result of many factors. They were tax supported, secure in their position, and the major religious body. The presence of a bishop might upset their security and subject them to an ecclesiastical official who would discipline or coerce them into following a policy contrary to the interest of their parish. From the point of view of the laymen, Chase and Paca, made it perfectly clear that they preferred the existing arrangement to any innovation. Both were members of the Maryland legislature at the time. In their position they were in touch with a fairly wide expression of popular opinion both within and without the church. Besides, Samuel

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[25] Maryland Gazette, March 8, 1773.

[26] Ibid., March 18, 1773.

Chase's father, Thomas Chase, was pastor of St. Paul's Church, Baltimore from 1744 to 1779. The opposition which these two laymen expressed was decisive. The champion of the episcopal scheme, Jonathan Boucher, left his parish in the hands of a curate in 1773 and himself became a curate to Henry Addison, his wife's uncle, in St. John's Parish. In September, 1775, he fled Maryland for England, never to return.

The Virginia Anglicans provided the most dramatic opposition to the episcopal scheme. Their rejection of the proposed bishop was most serious because they represented approximately one-third of the Anglican clergy and churches in America, and they had twice as many clergy and churches as their closest rival, Maryland. Furthermore, the ecclesiastical patronage in Virginia was primarily in the hands of the local vestries. The House of Burgesses passed legislation providing for the support of ministers and the building of churches, but the local vestry usually decided the terms of service for a minister. In addition, a large number of Anglican laymen were members of the legislature so that no plan could emerge there for the church without their approval. When four Anglican clergy publicly opposed the episcopal scheme, the House of Burgesses passed a resolution of appreciation which expressed their sentiments. Any ecclesiastical plan that did not have the support of the laity in Virginia was destined to fail.

The action of the Virginians was not a spontaneous reaction, for the established church in Virginia differed in many ways from the church in England and in the other American colonies. Although the royal governor in Virginia had considerable influence in ecclesiastical affairs, he was limited. For example, the local vestries of the establishment had the right to petition for and have installed the clergymen of their choice. Only if a vestry failed to secure its candidate for a period of one year could the governor present his candidate.[27] This was quite different from the procedure in Maryland. In England there was perhaps not a single vestry that had the right to select its minister.[28]

There was, moreover, no lord proprietor for Virginia whose personal approval had to be secured in the case of each clergyman. The license of the Bishop of London was the important document which the prospective minister had to secure. In fact, this was the last vestige of episcopal supervision on the part of the Bishop of London in Virginia. Although there was a nominal commissary in Virginia, his powers were but a vague shadow of those exercised by the first Commissary, the Reverend Dr. James Blair in 1689.[29]

James Blair had served as commissary in Virginia for fifty-four years. He was responsible for the establishment of William and Mary College and a member of the governor's council. He convened the Anglican clergy of the colony in conventions and gave them a sense of strength. Blair quarreled with two royal governors and was instrumental in their removal, and he exercised a strong influence over the clergy by convention meetings, personal visitation, and reports to the Bishop of London, but he was never able to ordain or confirm. He had to refer disciplinary cases to the Bishop of London. However, the activities of Commissary Blair were the closest any American colony came to a resident Anglican bishop.[30]

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[27] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, p. 246.

[28] G. Mac Laren Brydon, "The Origin of the Rights of the Laity in the American Episcopal Church" Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XII, (December 1943), p. 330.

[29] Manross, op. cit., p. 167.

By 1761 the commissary's position in Virginia was drastically altered. The President of William and Mary College was still considered to be commissary. On April 6, 1761, the Reverend William Robinson was appointed commissary for Virginia and President of William and Mary, but Robinson was never appointed to the governor's council. In fact, Governor Francis Fauquier tried to compel the commissary to give a rubber-stamp endorsement to the candidates he wanted to receive Holy Orders. Robinson recognized that this would reduce his recommendation to a mere form, and his recommendation was the last device of control which he held over the clergy.[31] In 1768 the matter was still undecided.

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[30] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, p. 56.

[31] William Robinson to Bishop of London, 17 August 1764. Fulham Papers in Lambeth Palace, Library of Congress, XIV, Virginia, 1761-undated, No. 27.

An incident in 1769 clearly revealed how the laity felt about the commissary's power of recommending. James Horrocks had succeeded William Robinson as commissary. A young Virginian, James Ogilvie, requested a recommendation from Horrocks to the Bishop of London in order that he might receive Holy Orders. Horrocks at first refused, but later agreed that he would not interfere if Ogilvie went to England on his own. Apparently Horrocks did not keep his word and instead wrote to the Bishop of London and objected to Ogilvie as a candidate for Holy Orders, but he did not state his reason or reasons. In effect this blocked Ogilvie from ordination until the bishop could determine the reason for the objection. In the meantime Ogilvie wrote to his friend in Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, to request his assistance.[32]

Jefferson in turn wrote to Thomas Adams in England, urging him to intercede for Ogilvie, and he also expressed his opinion of Horrocks.

> This man, partly from an evil disposition to defeat the wishes of some gentlemen, no favorites of his, who bore a warm friendship to Mr. Ogilvie, and partly from the elation of mind which usually attends preferment without merit and which has no other object in view but to hang out to the world its own importance, peremptorily refused his recommendation.[33]

In addition, Jefferson asked Peyton Randolph, the attorneygeneral of Virginia and a churchman, to help forward Ogilvie's cause.[34]

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[32] James Ogilvie to Thomas Jefferson, 28 March 1770. Julian P. Boyd (ed.), The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (19 vols.; Princeton University Press, 1950), I, pp. 38-39.

[33] Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Adams, 11 July 1770. Ibid., p. 48.

Jefferson's first efforts were unsuccessful and on February 20, 1771, he tried again. "I must once more trouble you for my friend Ogilvie," he wrote to Thomas Adams in England. "The commissary promised to write in his favor to the bishops by Necks. I did not see his letter, and with this gentleman I believe no farther than I see."[35] Apparently Horrocks never changed his mind about Ogilvie. Instead Ogilvie obtained a living in England and thus secured ordination.[36] It is needless to say that this incident provoked many churchmen in Virginia to a deeper dislike of the ecclesiastical official. The members of Orange Parish church to whom Jefferson had recommended Ogilvie were irritated and disappointed. It is quite likely that Jefferson's attitude of distrust and dislike for Horrocks was shared by many laymen. In any event an ecclesiastical official who was able to interfere with and frustrate the wishes of the Virginia churchmen was unwelcome.

There were many other Virginia churchmen who were resentful toward commissaries and toward several of the leading Anglican clergy in Virginia. The celebrated Parsons'

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[34] Thomas Jefferson to Peyton Randolph, 23 July 1770. Ibid., p. 49.

[35] Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Adams, 20 February 1771. Ibid., pp. 61-62.

[36] James Ogilvie to Thomas Jefferson, 26 April, 1771. Ibid., p. 67.

Cause which began in 1775 was not settled until 1767. In its essence the case involved the right of the Virginia legislature to regulate the financial support for the established clergy without any outside interference. In this controversy the civil powers claimed and successfully maintained the right to regulate the church establishment.[37] In 1748 the Virginia legislature had set 16,000 lbs. of tobacco for each parish to support its minister. In 1753 there was a poor crop of tobacco and the price went up. Naturally the planters stood to lose personally if they paid the clergy the same amount of tobacco in a poor year as in a good year. The assembly passed an act which permitted the planters to discharge their obligation to the clergy in money. The rate was set at £100 instead of 16,000 lbs. of tobacco. The act was made effective for ten months.[38]

John Camm, a professor at William and Mary, supported by his associates, appealed to the Bishop of London in November 1755, but the act was not disallowed. The ten-month period was too short a time to allow adequate consideration of the act. But, in 1758, when the assembly passed another similar act called the "Two Penny Act," a convention of clergy sent Camm to England to appeal the act. This time the act was disallowed.[39] In 1763, the act of 1758 was declared invalid in the Hanover County court. James Maury, rector of Fredericksville Parish, sued for damages. At this trial Patrick Henry appeared to defend the right of the assembly to regulate the financial support of the clergy. As a result of Henry's defense, the jury of twelve churchmen and four Dissenters awarded Maury damages of one penny. There was obviously a large number of people in Virginia, including Anglicans, who strongly objected to outside interference in ecclesiastical affairs.[40]

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[37] H.J.Eckenrode, Separation of Church and State in Virginia (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1910), p.22.

[38] Ibid.,p.22.

Camm appealed Maury's case to England, where it remained undecided for some time. The Privy Council did not consider it, and eventually Lord Northington dismissed the case on the basis of a technical error. In Virginia the Reverend Thomas Warrington appealed to the General Court, which decided against him in October, 1767, and denied further appeal. The controversy ended triumphantly for the colonial authorities.[41]

In the course of the controversy John Camm wrote A Single and Distinct View of the Act Vulgarly Called The Two Penny Act in 1763 in a vain attempt to discredit the act. Camm's efforts were countered by Colonel Landon Carter's The Rector Detected and Colonel Richard Bland's The Colonel Dismounted, or the Rector Vindicated. In both cases Camm's opponents played heavily upon the theme that the clergy wanted special treatment and that they were unwilling to share the lot of the Virginians. The feeling of anticlericism is strong in both pamphlets of Carter and Bland, though both were Anglicans.[42]

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[39] Ibid., p. 24.

[40] Ibid., p. 24.

[41] Ibid., p. 26.

The leading Anglican clergy in Virginia by appealing to the royal authority in England had awakened serious opposition to themselves. The Parsons' Cause of the 1750's and 1760's set the minds of Virginia churchmen against any new proposals that might come from the clergy. It was this attitude of suspicion and hostility which prepared the Virginian Anglicans to oppose forcefully the idea of an American bishop when Horrocks and Camm promoted it in 1770 and 1771.

By 1771 the influence of the Bishop of London and the authority of the commissary were so diminished that the assembly had virtually assumed disciplinary control of the clergy. William Nelson, President of the Council, wrote to Lord Hillsborough about the issue. The question was: who had the authority to discipline the Anglican clergy, the governor or the legislature? In the course of the discussion Nelson stated,

> I know that since the power expired by the death of Dr. Gibson the commissaries have had no other appointment than by letters from the succeeding Bishops of London which they have not thought sufficient authority from them to enter into discussion of ecclesiastical matters.[43]

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[42] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, p. 297.

[43] William Nelson to Lord Hillsborough, 17 April 1771. Fulham Papers in Lambeth Palace, Library of Congress, XIV, Virginia, 1761-undated. No. 212.

It was within this environment that the episcopal controversy was triggered when James Horrock attempted to convene a convention of the clergy in 1771. The episcopal scheme of Chandler had been communicated to John Camm as early as 1767, but it was 1771 before any ostensible attempt was made in Virginia to secure backing for the scheme.[44] The Virginia Gazette of March 21, 1771, carried a notice summoning the clergy to the annual meeting of the Fund for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of deceased clergy to be held on May 4, 1771. Two weeks later another notice appeared in which the commissary requested a general attendance. When the meeting was held, the clergy flatly refused to discuss petitioning for an American episcopate. The clergy demanded that proper notification to hold a convention to discuss a request for a bishop be given and the purpose publicly stated. This Horrocks did in the Gazette of May 9, 1771.[45]

In the meantime, William Nelson, President of the Council, who was the acting chief executive, expressed his personal views.

> We do not want bishops; . . . .But Mr. Horrocks, . . .hath invited all the clergy of the colony to meet soon, in order to consider an application for the purpose; . . . .I should not wonder if we should hear of the Virginia schism, when the matter comes to be considered and debated by them; . . . .[46]

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[44] Thomas B. Chandler to Dr. Johnson, 14 March 1771. Schneiders, op. cit., I, p. 477.

[45] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, p. 348.

[46] William Nelson to Edward Hunt, 11 May 1771. William and Mary Quarterly, (January 1897), V, p. 150.

Nelson knew in advance that the majority of Virginia Anglicans opposed the episcopal idea, and his prediction of a schism almost came true.

Before the convention met, on May 30, 1771, an article entitled "A Country Gentleman" appeared in the Virginia Gazette. The author of the article remained anonymous, but he refused to believe that a non-political bishop, without authority over the laity, and without tax support was possible. The type of episcopacy proposed by Thomas B. Chandler and his associates was too preposterous for the Virginia Anglicans to accept.[47] They simply could not imagine a bishop with a mitre and not a sceptre.

The convention which met on June 4, 1771, was attended by only twelve clergymen out of more than eighty who were then serving in the colony. After the first attempt to formulate a petition for a bishop was defeated, a second session passed the proposal. At this point two clergymen, Thomas Gwatkin and Samuel Henley, professors at William and Mary College, protested vigorously. They were joined by two of their clerical colleagues, Richard Hewitt and William Bland. In spite of the opposition of the four, the issue was passed by the other eight clergymen present.

The protest of Gwatkin and Henley was printed in the Gazette on June 6, 1771. They charged that the convention did not represent the clergy of the colony because of the small attendance. The convention had no authority to petition for an episcopate which would exercise authority over other colonies. The establishment of a bishop would weaken the ties with the mother country. Moreover, the failure of the convention to consult the president, council, and assembly in the colony was an indecent act. In fact, the petition by its nature implied disrespect for the past services of the bishops of London.[48]

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[47] Virginia Gazette, May 30, 1771.

The intense controversy which these two forces generated flooded the newspaper. In the midst of the conflict, Horrocks departed for England under the excuse of poor health. President Nelson suspected that Horrocks went to seek a mitre. John Camm and William Willie tried to keep the episcopal plan alive, but to no avail. The opposition both within and without the church mounted.[49]

The laity revealed its feelings in the June 25th issue of the Gazette. An anonymous article appeared and asked, "Can Mr. Horrocks, and these few clergymen who espouse this scheme, suppose the laity will remain silent. . .?"[50] The laity did speak and its power was noted from Williamsburg to Boston. The Virginia House of Burgesses passed a resolution expressing its appreciation to the Reverends Gwatkin, Henley, Hewitt, and Bland for their opposition to the episcopal scheme.[51] This event spread like a news flash to Annapolis, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.

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[48] Ibid., June 6, 1771.

[49] Ibid., June 26, 1771.

[50] Ibid., June 25, 1771.

Richard Bland expressed the fear and resolution of the Virginia Anglicans. If the scheme had been effected, he said, it would have overturned the acts of the Virginia Assembly relative to the Anglican establishment. The general court had the oversight of all cases ecclesiastical and civil. This would have been changed. The convention that petitioned for a bishop had not shown due respect for the assembly authority, nor had it requested a change in the colony's laws to accomodate a bishop.[52] This was a serious mistake on the part of the pro-episcopal leaders, for the Virginia assembly had passed laws relative to the church establishment for almost one hundred and fifty years. They were not about to change because a few clergymen thought they should.

Richard Bland wrote, "I profess my self a sincere son of the established church; but I can embrace her doctrines, without approving her heirarchy, which I know to be a relic of the papal incroachments upon the common law."[53] The attitude of Bland toward episcopacy was not much different from the attitude of the New England Congregationalists. By the early 1770's the Virginia Anglicans had arrived at their own view of episcopacy without outside help. This strong anti-episcopal feeling would one day play a major role in the reorganization of the church. But in 1771 no one could predict what course the Virginia opposition to episcopacy would finally take.

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[51] John P. Kennedy (ed.), Journals of the House of Burgesses in Virginia 1770-1772. (Richmond: Virginia, 1906), p. 122.

[52] Richard Bland to Thomas Adams, 1 August 1771. "Letters of Richard Bland," Virginia Historical Magazine, (Richmond Virginia Historical Society, 1898-99), VI, pp. 131-132.

[53] Ibid.

Notall the Anglican laymen were as outspoken opponents of the episcopal scheme as Richard Bland and William Nelson. A more moderate churchman who followed the controversy very carefully was George Washington. His diary records that in the years of the episcopal conflict he was a frequent worshipper and vestryman at Pohick Church. Moreover, Washington knew several of the Anglican clergy in Virginia.[54] His step-son, John Parke Custis, was tutored by Jonathan Boucher from 1759 to 1762. After Boucher's removal to Maryland in 1768, both men corresponded with each other. In September of 1772, Washington dined with Governor Eden of Maryland and Boucher was present. In December 1772 Boucher visited Washington at Mount Vernon. Washington also knew former Governor Sharpe of Maryland and the Dulanys.[55]

On March 5, 1772, Boucher wrote to Washington and requested that he speak to the printers of the Gazette to have his subscription continued. In addition, Boucher requested a copy of Gwatkin and Henley's answer to Dr. Chandler's plan which Washington sent to him.[56] In his letter to Boucher, Washington reported the outcome of the episcopal controversy in Virginia succinctly.

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[54] John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), The Diaries of George Washington 1748-1799 (4 vols.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925), II.

[55] Ibid., Entry for January and April 15, 1773.

> The expediency of an American episcopate was long and warmly debated, and at length rejected. As a substitute, the House attempted to frame an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to be composed of a president and four other clergymen, who were to have full power and authority to hear and determine all matters and causes relative to the clergy, and to be vested with the power of suspension, deprivation, and visitation.[57]

However, the bill was not enacted, and though Washington did not disclose his personal opinion about the episcopal issue, his letter to Boucher may well have served to dampen the ardor of the strongest advocate of episcopacy in the Maryland and Virginia area. The defeat of the episcopal scheme in Virginia was certainly no encouragement to Boucher. It is entirely possible that there were many laymen of the establishment who did not speak out publicly against the scheme, but who personally gave it no encouragement.

A legislative committee in 1772 prepared a bill to establish a commission to discipline the Virginia clergy. This was obviously the House of Burgess's counter-attack against the pro-episcopal scheme. This ecclesiastical commission was to be composed of a president and four clergymen, and an appeal was to the Court of Delegates which consisted of an equal number of laymen and clergy.[58] This proposal, like the Maryland Ecclesiastical Courts Bill of 1768, was more in the direction of Presbyterian polity than Anglican. It certainly revealed how many of the churchmen felt about the use of ecclesiastical authority and the determination of Virginians not to have a bishop. The bill was, however, delayed in committee because it was believed that emotions were running too high and more time was needed for deliberation. The bill was not officially presented or debated at that time, and before action was taken the Revolutionary War began.

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[56] Stanislaus M. Hamilton (ed.), Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers (5 vols.; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1901), IV, p. 116.

[57] Fitzpatrick (ed.), The Writings of George Washington, III, p. 81.

Richard Bland, the most outspoken critic of the Anglican clergy, and a member of the House of Burgesses from Prince William County, argued in 1773 that the control of the establishment belonged to the legislature. "Upon the whole," he declared, "I am clearly of opinion that the governor has no coercive ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the clergy. It has been long ago seen, and ought long ago to have been remedied by the legislature."[59] Then he added, "the reason why the late Bishops of London have not taken the commission which I have heard is always ready for them, I pretend not to know."[60] Bland not only excluded the governor and the

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[58] *Ibid*., VIII, p. 81.

[59] Richard Bland to Virginia Clergy, 1773. In the form of an open letter in Virginia Historical Society.

[60] *Ibid*.

Bishop of London from authority over the Anglican clergy; he did not believe the clergy should be intrusted to run their own affairs. In reality, he contended for absolute lay control through the legislature or a commission. It almost seems that Bland envisaged a corporate lay episcopate which would manage the clergy in every area with the possible exception of ordination. The episcopal controversy in Virginia unquestionably strengthened the control of the legislature and the laity over the Anglican church and this domination lingered long after the disestablishment in 1784.

In any event, the Virginians were confident that they could handle the episcopal controversy locally. Throughout the entire controversy they did not appeal to their colonial agent in London, Arthur Lee. In the correspondence of Arthur Lee, who served as agent for Virginia from 1767 to 1775, there is no mention of the episcopal problem.[61] If the Virginia Anglicans had believed that a bishop was intended for them or for America, they certainly would have instructed their agent to take appropriate steps to register their position.

When Charles Inglis, assistant minister at Trinity Church, New York, and a young but zealous advocate of an American bishop, had to report the defeat of the episcopal plan in Virginia to Dr. Johnson, he revealed his personal anguish and despair. Inglis advised Dr. Johnson on July 4,

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[61] Richard H. Lee, Life of Arthur Lee, LL.D. (Boston: Wells & Lilly, 1829). Appendices I and II contain his correspondence for the years 1767-1775.

1771, "thus you see we have not only open enemies and Dissenters to deal with; but also false brethren, the more pernicious animals of the two. . . ."[62] The passive resistance of many New England Anglicans and the active resistance of the Pennsylvania Anglicans was climaxed by the open hostility of the Virginians.

The reversal apparently took Thomas B. Chandler by surprise. It is hard to imagine that he did not have some previous inkling of the Virginia Anglicans' feelings in the matter. Nevertheless, Chandler exhorted the Virginians,

> if our church is not desirous of bishops, it is not episcopal; . . . .But we beg you to consider the natural tendency of such conduct, and to give a candid attention to what we have to offer on the subject; and then we doubt not but you will see your mistake, and endeavor to retrieve the mischief that may have arisen from it.[63]

The only response Chandler received was a letter from Thomas Gwatkin reaffirming the position he, Henley, Hewitt, and Bland had taken.[64] In a real sense this letter was the death knell for the episcopal scheme in America in the pre-revolutionary war years. Camm and Willie made other attempts to reconvene the clergy in convention to reconsider the episcopal scheme, but they received no cooperation. Not one Anglican clergyman responded.

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[62] Charles Inglis to Dr. Johnson, 4 July 1771, John W. Lydekker (ed.), The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis 1759 to 1787 (London: S.P.G., 1936), pp. 134-35.

[63] Thomas B. Chandler, An Address from the Clergy of New York (New York: Gaine, 1771), p. 57.

[64] Thomas Gwatkin, A Letter to the Clergy of New York and New Jersey (Williamsburg, 1772).

The proponents of an American episcopate encountered the stiffest Anglican opposition to their scheme in the area of Maryland and Virginia, where the church was established and numerically the strongest. In Maryland the proprietor and his appointees set themselves to oppose the plan. It is also significant that some of the clergy and many of the laity in Maryland opposed the episcopal scheme. The three clergymen - Addison, Allen, and Boucher - who championed the episcopal cause were simply overwhelmed by the opposition raised in Maryland. The Virginia opposition to the episcopal scheme was more dramatic. It is entirely possible that the backers of the episcopal scheme in Virginia thought that their status as a royal colony would aid them. Their belief that loyalty to the episcopal plan would extend the influence of the home government, if not its authority, was a subtle source of encouragement. However, in the 1760's and 1770's the home government was not meddling in the ecclesiastical affairs of the colonies, not even in a royal colony. In Virginia the scheme for an American episcopate floundered between the Scylla and Charybdis of lay and clerical opposition.

CHAPTER V

CAROLINA AND GEORGIA ATTITUDES

On April 20, 1770, William Eddis, the surveyor of customs at Annapolis, Maryland, wrote to friends in England,

> I cannot conceive on what principle the colonists are so strongly prejudiced against the introduction of the episcopal order: . . . . Throughout the southern provinces, the members of the established church greatly exceed those of all other denominations; yet I am persuaded any attempt to establish an hierarchy, would be resisted with as much acrimony as during the gloomy prevalence of puritanical zeal. . . .They have, however, conceived such rooted prejudices against the higher orders of the church, that they are positively persuaded the advantages to be acquired, . . .would by no means counterbalance the evils which might arise from it.[1]

William Eddis did not disclose the source or sources of his information. As surveyor of customs at Annapolis, he undoubtedly conversed with many merchantmen from the southern provinces. Since Eddis was a relatively new appointee, he could neither appreciate the resistance and opposition of the Maryland and Virginia Anglicans, nor could he explain the paradox that professed Anglicans in the Carolinas and Georgia were not interested in the procurement of a resident bishop. North and South Carolina and Georgia all supported the Anglican church by some form of taxation like those of Maryland and Virginia, but unlike the two Chesapeake colonies there was no one in any of the three southern colonies who expressed interest in a resident bishop in the 1760's and 1770's. The dominant attitude of the Anglicans in this area strongly favored self-determination in church affairs.

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[1] William Eddis, Letters from America 1769 to 1777 (London, 1792), pp. 50-51.

The North Carolina church was experiencing a growing resentment against ecclesiastical authority, especially that control from outside the local vestry. On March 29, 1765 Governor Arthur Dobbs reported to the Board of Trade that there were twenty-nine parishes in North Carolina, but only six orthodox clergymen. The governor tried to strengthen the position of the Anglican church by the passage of the Vestry Act.[2] By the Vestry Act, ministers were made members of the local vestries, and the vestry was empowered to levy a ten shilling tax on all taxables within the parish to secure funds with which to build churches, glebe houses, and school houses, and purchase glebes. The minister was to receive £100 per annum and an additional £20 if a glebe house was not provided.[3] The vestrymen, who were elected once in three years, were not required to be Anglicans.[4] However, they had to pledge that they would not oppose the liturgy of the Church of England. This act was to remain in force for five years.

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[2] William L. Saunders (ed.), The Colonial Records of North Carolina (10 vols.; Raleigh: Joseph Daniels, 1890), IV, p. 1040.

[3] Governor Dobbs to S.P.G., 29 March 1764. Ibid., 1027.

[4] James Moir to S.P.G., 4 April 1764. Ibid., p. 1042.

Governor Dobbs had to confess that he had not been successful in his efforts to persuade the vestries to entrust the presentation of the clergy to the Crown or Bishop of London. He stated,

> I after some struggles since my last have got a better bill for the maintenance of the orthodox clergy, . . .but could not prevail with them to give up the parsonage to the Crown and Bishop of London, and so have not the nomination nor a right to induct them [clergy] regularly.[5]

In other words, the local vestries retained the right to accept or refuse a clergyman. They also had the right to collect the parish tax to pay him. Thus the local vestry had complete control over its clergyman once he was ordained and licensed by the Bishop of London.

In 1765 William Tryon became governor of North Carolina and remained at that post until 1771. During his term as governor the number of clergy was increased from six to eighteen. Tryon advised the home government that the establishment in North Carolina needed ecclesiastical supervision. He stated, "I need not to enumerate to your lordships the peculiar hardships which the church labours under for want of a more complete establishment in America."[6]

In the first few months of his administration Tryon pressed for and secured an Orthodox Clergy Act. He proposed that the clergy be paid out of the public treasury rather than by the local vestries. This proposal was defeated. However, the Orthodox Clergy Act permitted a clergyman whose salary was not paid to take his case to court. Besides, the annual salary was raised to £133.6.8.[7] The Act provoked a heated controversy between the vestries and the governor. Tryon interpreted the act to mean that he had the authority to present clergymen to the several parishes. Tryon complained,

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[5] Governor Dobbs to S.P.G., 29 March 1764. Ibid., p. 1040.

[6] Ibid., VII, p. 153.

> many persons have industriously spread among the parishes and vestries that as the patronage to livings is not specified in the above act, the Crown cannot claim the patronage; some delicacy therefore your lordship I hope sees is necessary in the establishment of the clergy here.[8]

Tryon tried to exercise the prerogative of presentation, but the resistance he met from several vestries is evidence that the North Carolina Anglicans were determined to control ecclesiastical affairs at the parish level. If the vestries had accepted the governor's position, it would have meant that the governor had gained control of all ecclesiastical appointments, and once a governor's candidate was installed he would have been secure for life. But the governor's plan did not go well. On June 11, 1768, the Reverend John Barnett of Brunswick parish wrote to Dr. Daniel Burton, secretary of the S.P.G.,

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[7] Ibid., VII, p. 153.

[8] Governor Tryon to Bishop of London, 6 October 1766. Ibid., p. 261.

> the people of this parish do still violently oppose the presentation of the Crown to the living, that I believe it will be found necessary for me to remove to another part of the province. Permit me sir to assure the Venerable Board that the people are so desirous of my stay with them on the usual terms, of an annual re-election as I have been informed to be willing to make some addition to the former salary.[9]

The enticement of a salary increase did not change Barnett's mind. Nor did the loss of a minister change the position of the New Brunswick vestry.

Tryon informed Dr. Burton on March 20, 1769,

> the Reverend Mr. Cramp at present officiates at Brunswick, he has promised me he will not stay in the government on any terms than induction from me. I have urged him to accept of presentation to this parish, his answer was, 'they will starve me for none like the inducted parson!'[10]

In this case Cramp had to serve the parish without a formal induction which would have given him tenure. The vestry won a clear victory. In a third instance Hobart Briggs was accepted by the Duplin County Anglicans, but to the consternation of Tryon they ignored his recommendation.[11] Again a vestry acted calmly and firmly. This was not a new experience for them. They were not the least interested in arbitrating the issue.

By March 1769, Tryon admitted to the S.P.G.

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[9] John Barnett to Dr. Burton, 11 June 1768. Ibid., pp. 789-90.

[10] Governor Tryon to Dr. Burton, 20 March 1769. Ibid., VIII, p. 13.

[11] Ibid., p. 13.

> some vestries idly imagine the power of presentation is still vested by implication in them; because say they, neither the Crown nor the governor is in express words declared to have the right of presentation. I purpose to bring this matter on some future occasion to tryal that they may be convinced of the obstinacy and error of such a notion, since I find in some parishes, candid argument will not prevail.[12]

It is clear that opposition to Tryon's authority was increasing. There is no record that he made a test case out of his claim to ecclesiastical appointments, but had he done so there probably would have been violent protest.

Alexander Stewart, S.P.G. missionary to Saint Thomas Parish, North Carolina, in a letter to the Society gave an interesting interpretation of the resistance of the laity to Tryon's attempts at ecclesiastical control.

> Had not Governor Tryon pushed the clause for induction in his first session of the assembly, when the people were a little complaisant, it is more than probable that it had not yet been granted. In some counties they have refused his clerks; in others the vestries have fixed rather than qualified. In others of which this is one we have neither sheriffs nor other tax officers. . . .but notwithstanding this act the vestries have many subterfuges, many things in their power which it is not in the power of any governor to foresee or prevent.[13]

It appears that Tryon had an Anglican revolt on his hands. At least four of the eighteen vestries that had ministers openly opposed his claim to presentation. The implication in the reports of Tryon, Cramp, Barnett, Briggs, and Stewart was that other vestries also resisted the governor's claim to the control of ecclesiastical patronage. In any event, there was no interest on the part of the vestries in outside ecclesiastical supervision of any kind.

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[12] Governor Tryon to Dr. Burton, 20 March 1769. Ibid., p. 14.

[13] Alexander Stewart to S.P.G., June 1768. Ibid., VII, p. 495.

When the Orthodox Clergy Act of 1765 expired in 1771, the North Carolina assembly took steps to revise it. The revised act showed their real sentiments about who should control church affairs. In the first place, the act gave each local vestry the right of presentation, and the vestries were given a twelve-month period to secure their minister before the governor could recommend a candidate. The vestry claimed the right to set the time and place where the clergyman was to officiate. When the Bishop of London, Richard Terrick, commented on the act to the Lords of Trade, he exclaimed, "I rather suspect that they borrow'd the model of their government from the Presbyterians and Independents of New England."[14]

It is not clear from the records whether or not this bill was accepted. The Bishop of London certainly did not approve it. The fact that Governor Tryon was transferred to New York in 1771 and was succeeded by Governor Josiah Martin in 1772 probably meant that the act was returned from Board of Trade to the North Carolina assembly. Before the act could be reaffirmed it is likely that the Revolutionary War had begun. Nevertheless, the revised Orthodox Clergy Bill of 1771 was a definite claim that the control of ecclesiastical affairs belonged with the vestries.

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[14] Bishop of London to Lords of Trade, n.d. Ibid., IX, pp. 82-83.

Throughout the decade and a half before the Revolution there was no episcopal controversy in North Carolina. Whoever received the letters about the episcopal scheme which Charles Inglis sent to North Carolina did not publicly endorse the plan or call a convention to enlist the clergy and laity in support of an American episcopate.[15] If there had been a Thomas B. Chandler or a Jonathan Boucher in North Carolina to espouse the episcopal scheme, there would have been a real controversy. The laity who opposed and overturned Tryon's claim to presentation most certainly would have resisted any scheme to procure a bishop. The North Carolina Anglicans who taxed themselves for the support of their church were unwilling for anyone else to tell them how to operate that church. The laity had acquired the upper hand in ecclesiastical affairs and they were determined to maintain that prerogative. A resident bishop in America would have been a most unwelcome intruder under these circumstances.

In South Carolina the attitude of the Anglicans, clergy and laity, was quite similar to that of their church brethren in North Carolina. The Anglican church was legally established as early as 1706. In 1760 there were twenty-two parishes, and in 1763 twenty of them had settled ministers. The development of the Anglican church in South Carolina was a remarkable success story, for in 1706 there had been only six or seven parishes; in 1760 there were twenty-two. The number of clergymen had grown from two in 1706 to twenty in 1763. Financially, support for the church increased until by 1766 the S.P.G. no longer supported missionaries in South Carolina.[16]

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[15] Thomas B. Chandler to Dr. Johnson, 22 January 1768. Schneiders, op. cit., I, p. 433.

South Carolina had experienced the leadership of Alexander Garden as Commissary from 1726 to 1754. However, his retirement marked the end of a resident commissary in South Carolina. Garden was highly respected, but there was no request or petition for a replacement after his retirement, and the Bishop of London, Thomas Sherlock, did not appoint a successor. Since 1706 in South Carolina a commission of the Assembly had acted as an administrative supervisor over the parishes. This body was composed of twelve laymen who controlled the appointment of the clergy to the various parishes after they were licensed by the Bishop of London.[17] They approved salary requests and payments from the public treasury to all the local churches. They supervised the laying out of new parishes and the building of churches. Charles Woodmason, an Anglican itinerant minister in the Carolina backcountry, observed that the Commission was very jealous of its control.[18]

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[16] Dalcho, op. cit., p. 39.

[17] Church Commissioners' Book, 1717-1742. Mss in South Carolina Archives, Columbia, South Carolina.

In South Carolina the members of the Church of England who were resident in a parish and tax payers had a right to vote in the selection of a minister. As early as 1731 the Commissioners' Book recorded the election of Daniel Dwight as minister of Saint John's Parish. However, the minister recommended by the commissioners was not always elected. On March 13, 1733, the members of Saint Paul Parish exercised their prerogative and rejected Alexander Leslie as their minister. No reason for the rejection of Leslie was given.[19]

There was an added development in the 1760's that indicated a persistent and strong trend toward local control in ecclesiastical matters. The Reverend Frederick Dalcho noted that in the 1760's judging by

> . . .the journals of the different parishes, it appears that, towards the time of the Revolution, the arrangement of the parochial officers was changed. . . .The Vestry, being the popular branch of church officers, came to be named first, contrary to the invariable custom in England, ...This practise appears to have sprung from the desire of the people in this province, to exercise those privileges which they believed to belong to them as freemen.[20]

Whether the deviation from English custom was done consciously or not Dalcho does not say. But the placing of the popularly elected church officials first in the journals is a definite indication that churchmen in South Carolina were moving toward a more representative system in local church matters. A bishop appointed from England, commissioned for America, would have collided head-on with the evolving church practices in South Carolina.

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[18] Richard J. Hooker (ed.), The Carolina Backcountry on the Eve of the Revolution: The Journal and Other Writings of Charles Woodmason, Anglican Itinerant. (University of North Carolina Press, 1953), pp. 5 and 9.

[19] Church Commissioners' Book, op. cit., p. 57.

[20] Dalcho, op. cit., p. 119.

This trend toward self-determination in local parish affairs was evident in still another way. Charles Martyn of Saint Andrew's Parish on February 4, 1763, wrote to the Bishop of London.

> The parish of Saint John's in Colleton County within this province. . .has lately wrote to England for a clergyman to be exported to them, but at the same time extended into a resolution never to elect him as their rector, let him be ever so deserving; in order to keep him in a state of dependence, and consequently subject = subservience [sic] to their humors and caprice.[21]

Martyn later elaborated on the unorthodox method used in treating the clergy. He stated,

> . . .it is growing into a practice with most parishes, to admit no minister among them until he first engages not to sue for election; and then they make an agreement with him in conformity to the mode of dissenting congregations, only from one year to another; . . . .[22]

It is obvious the South Carolina Anglicans had no interest in a resident bishop. Under the emerging conditions of local control a clergyman who advocated a bishop could be quickly discharged.

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[21] Charles Martyn to Bishop of London, 4 February 1763. Fulham Papers in Lambeth Palace, Library of Congress, X, No. 158.

[22] Martyn to Bishop of London, 20 October 1765. Ibid., X, No. 160.

Charles Martyn was a loyal and idealistic clergyman; both he and Charles Woodmason were appalled by the independent tendencies on the part of their fellow Anglicans in South Carolina. Yet, neither Martyn nor Woodmason, who knew about the episcopal plan of Dr. Johnson and Chandler, attempted to rally the Anglican clergy and petition for a bishop. The remedy which Martyn proposed to the Bishop of London was that the Bishop refuse to license clergymen for South Carolina until the parishes agreed to elect their ministers to life service, but Martyn's advice was not followed.[23] Martyn climaxed his commentary when he warned that it would be personally and physically dangerous for a bishop to set foot in South Carolina.

> And if I may form a judgment from that present prevailing turbulent spirit which like an epidemick disorder, seems every where to diffuse itself through this and the other colonies, I can venture to affirm that it would be as unsafe for an American Bishop (if such should be appointed) to come hither, as it is at present for a distributor of Stamps.[24]

In Charleston the Stamps were not distributed, and those suspected of cooperation with the home government were roughly treated. Martyn felt that a bishop would be treated in the same way. If the South Carolina Anglicans in general knew about the interest of the northern Anglican clergy in a resident bishop, they did not express it. The growing resistance to the home government and the determination of the local vestries to control their own future demonstrated the attitude of the Carolina Anglicans.

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

The people of South Carolina were more and more looking to Charleston to answer their problems and not to England. In the 1760's the Carolina backcountry was aflame with the Regulator movement. The backcountry people felt that the tidewater region was denying them the representation and the services they deserved. The Regulators gained considerable support and refused to pay taxes until the Assembly in Charleston extended schools, churches, roads, bridges, and protection to the backcountry. In the Regulator "Remonstrance" of November 1767 there were twenty-three demands; three of these demands related to religion.[25] The eleventh demand was "that the interior and upper parts of the province and all beyond the Black River, be laid out into parishes, or chapels, churches, and parsonages be founded among them." The twelfth demand was "that ministers be provided for them, new as well as vacant old parishes - and that some method be devised for an immediate supply of ministers on the death or cession of incumbents." In the thirteenth demand they wanted "the salaries of the country clergy to be augmented and some provision made for their widows, thereby, that learned and godly men may be excited to come over to us, and not profligates."[26]

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[25] "Copy of A Remonstrance Presented to the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina, by the Upper Inhabitants of the Said Province, November 1767." Fulham Papers in Lambeth Palace, Library of Congress, X, Nos. 183-185.

It is apparent that, although the petitioners wanted an extension of the South Carolina ecclesiastical establishment, they expected the Assembly in Charleston to answer the demands and not the Bishop of London or the home government. It is most interesting that the Regulators did not demand religious freedom or official recognition of non-Anglican religious denominations. They felt that the Anglican establishment offered the ministry they wanted and that it was controlled from Charleston rather than by an outside power.

The attitude of the Anglicans in Charleston was the same as the attitude of the churchman in the several parishes of the colony. The experience of Robert Cooper, minister of Saint Michael's from 1761 to 1776, illustrates the control of the vestry. In 1771 Cooper noted that he was addressed as minister,not rector. He was informed that he had agreed to serve as minister and not rector. The point at issue was that in English canon law a rector was installed for life. In contrast a minister was subject to the vestry for his employment. The vestry of Saint Michael's did not grant Cooper a rector's status. On July 27, 1776 the vestry dismissed him for loyalty to the Crown.[27] This occurred at a time when in England perhaps not a single parish had the right to select or discharge its own minister.[28] Cooper was not the first nor the last Anglican minister to be dismissed by a vestry in South Carolina. On August 14, 1774, Mr. John Bullman, assistant at Saint Michael, was dismissed for a sermon which he preached. He, too, was considered too outspokenly favorable toward the home government.[29] He sailed for England on March 21, 1775.

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[26] Ibid.

[27] George W. Williams, St. Michael's Charleston, 1751-1951 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), p.39.

The episcopal scheme which caused open Anglican opposition in Virginia, passive resistance in New England, and active resistance in Pennsylvania did not provoke any controversy in the Carolinas. The main reason for the absence of an episcopal conflict was that no one championed the cause in North or South Carolina. If a zealous clergyman or convention had raised the cry for a resident bishop, there would have resulted an ecclesiastical conflagration as dramatic as the one in Virginia.

In the colony of Georgia the Anglican church was established in 1758. By 1773, it was estimated that the population was approximately 33,000; there were twelve parishes, but never more than three or four Anglican clergymen in the province at any one time. The governor of Georgia had the authority to nominate and appoint a clergyman to a parish.[30] Anglicanism in Georgia had some distinctive characteristics which set it apart from churchmen elsewhere in America. George Whitefield, an itinerant evangelist, but an ordained priest in the Anglican church, was always popular in Georgia. Whitefield's sermon delivery was so unorthodox and his adherence to the Anglican ritual and liturgy was so small that most of the Anglican pulpits in America were closed to him. In Georgia, however, he founded an orphanage and established a name and reputation. Here he was revered by both Dissenters and Anglicans.

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[28] Brydon, "The Origin of the Rights of the Laity," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XII, (December 1943), p. 330.

[29] Williams, op. cit., p. 39.

Whitefield's itinerary was carefully recorded in the Georgia Gazette. His preaching trips in England as well as throughout the American colonies were front-page news items. When he returned to Georgia, he received a hero's welcome. On December 20, 1769, the Georgia Gazette recorded one such reception.

> Last Wednesday evening arrived here, the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, and on Sunday morning preached with universal acceptance to a crowded and attentive audience in Christ Church. The inhabitants of the province, truly sensible of his unwearied attention (though under uncommon difficulties) to promote their spiritual and temporal welfare for thirty-two years past, appear to endeavour to outvie each other in shewing him their grateful respects.[31]

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[30] Allen D. Candler, The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia (19 vols.; Atlanta: The Franklin Printing Co., 1906), XVIII, pp. 258-272. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1864-65 (Boston: Wiggin & Lunt, 1866), pp. 214-19.

[31] Georgia Gazette, December 20, 1769.

The enthusiastic preaching, informal manner, and transient character of Whitefield's ministry did not tend to establish the institutional side of Anglicanism in Georgia or elsewhere. Moreover, a commissary never served in Georgia at any time. There were not enough Anglican clergymen in Georgia at any one time to justify special ecclesiastical attention. In this environment Whitefield's ministry to all denominations made it much easier for the Georgia Anglicans to tolerate and even worship with the Dissenters in the colony.

The Georgia Anglicans were well aware of the activities of their clerical brethren in New York and New Jersey. The February 17, 1768 issue of the Gazette reported,

> the church clergy of New York and New Jersey, being assembled together in a voluntary convention, and assisted by some of their brethren from the neighbouring provinces, took into consideration the propriety and expediency of addressing the public, on the subject of an American Episcopate. . . .It was accordingly voted, that something to this purpose whould be published, and the Reverend Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D.D. Rector of St. John's Church in Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, was appointed to this service. This work is just published, entitled, An Appeal to the Publick in behalf of the Church of England in America.[32]

The notice of this event caused no newspaper controversy in Georgia. In fact, there was no published reaction to it. Perhaps the backers of the episcopal scheme seemed too far away. At any rate, there were no Anglicans with enough interest in a resident American bishop in Georgia to take the plan seriously. The only ecclesiastical authority the Georgians knew was the governor. In the 1760's and 1770's there was no attempt to increase or decrease the governor's ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

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[32] Georgia Gazette, February 17, 1768.

The best insights into the Anglican establishment in Georgia were recorded by John Joachim Zubly, pastor of the Independent Presbyterian church of Savannah from 1760 to 1781. Zubly was the most prominent resident minister in Georgia. He was not only a successful minister, but also a successful businessman. He owned lands in Charleston , South Carolina. His business dealings were with Henry Laurens and John Rutledge, prominent Anglican laymen in Charleston . The attitude of the Anglicans in South Carolina and Georgia was well known to him.[33] The views which Zubly expressed about the Anglican establishment in Georgia were based upon extensive experience. On October 10, 1768, he informed Ezra Stiles,

> I do not hear that the episcopal clergy in South Carolina or this province have any itch for a Bp. . . .I doubt whether a dozen be in South Carolina who are desirous of being blessed with any such establishment, tho I am acquainted with no inconsiderable number of episcopalians that would rather join against than for it.[34]

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[33] Jurnal of the Revd John Joachim Zubly, March 5, 1770 to April 1781. Mss in Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Ga. Zubly was so popular in Georgia that he was sent as a delegate to the first Continental Congress. At the meeting in Philadelphia, he was derided by Samuel Chase of Maryland for his loyalist sympathies. This stand cost Zubly dearly when he returned to Georgia. Nevertheless, he remained true to his conviction and died a Loyalist in 1781.

[34] Franklin B. Dexter, Extracts from the Itineraries of Ezra Stiles (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916), p. 598.

These words must have cheered the heart of Stiles, but at the same time they revealed the very limited support Dr. Johnson and Chandler had for their scheme.

In a letter to an undisclosed person, Zubly described in detail the religious arrangement between Anglicans and Dissenters in Georgia.

> When Georgia became a King's government, an act was passed to establish the Church of England, but with a clause against all ecclesiastical jurisdiction. . . .There has been little altercation between the Church and dissenters, . . . We now bury in the same ground unmolested, and pay no fees except to the sexton, ...The late Mr. Frinck offered to endorse licences marriage to me if I would give him half the fee; . . . .[35]

The Anglicans and Dissenters in Georgia had worked out an amicable co-existance. This relationship would not have been possible had the Anglicans been zealous for a bishop. The truth was that the Georgia churchmen were indifferent to any such appeal.

The attitude of the Anglicans in North and South Carolina was one of self-determination in local church affairs. They held tenaciously to the right to elect, select, and reject a clergyman as their pastor. It is partially understandable that they were hesitant to induct a minister for life before they had a real opportunity to know him. The risk was increased because the civil courts did not have the authority to depose a minister.[36] Thus many vestries resorted to a yearly arrangement with their minister for his services. But, it also seems true that the determination of the vestries to keep their minister on a yearly basis unduly jeopardized the quality and continuity of the parish ministry.

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[35] J. J. Zubly to anonymous person, 11 July 1773. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1864-65 (Boston: Wiggin & Lunt, 1866), pp. 214-19.

In view of these circumstances it is certain that a majority of the Anglicans in the Carolinas and Georgia would not have welcomed a bishop in the 1760's and 1770's. They could not believe that an additional tax would not be necessary to support a bishop. Nor could they imagine a bishop who would be content to ordain, confirm, and visit the clergy. The idea of a resident American bishop was seen as a threat to the established ways of the Anglicans from Maryland to Georgia rather than as a solution to their problems.

CHAPTER VI

THE ANGLICAN DILEMMA

The episcopal scheme of Dr. Johnson and Thomas B. Chandler provoked resistance among the majority of their fellow American churchmen in the 1760's and 1770's. A few zealots who supported the plan were never able to mobilize the full strength of the Anglican communion in any one colony behind the episcopal drive. Instead they publicly appealed for widespread support from Anglicans throughout the thirteen colonies and attempted to persuade the general public that they sought only a bishop who could ordain, confirm, and visit the clergy. But the Appeal to the Public, by Chandler, only served to inflame the hatred of episcopacy by the Congregationalists and Presbyterians and persuaded few if any of the Anglicans to campaign for a bishop. When high-pressure methods were used to enlist the Maryland and Virginia Anglicans in the cause, there developed violent opposition to the plan. After these reverses, the zealots wisely did not send emissaries to North and South Carolina or Georgia.

At the same time that the American Anglicans were encountering increasing resistance in the colonies, Archbishop Secker, a consistent advocate of an American bishop, found it progressively difficult to discuss the matter with the British government. Several attempts were made to bring the matter to a decision, but not one of them was successful. Instead, the indifference of the government to the scheme and the opposition of a few of its members prevented the proposals of Secker, Johnson, and Chandler from being transformed into reality. It was this insensitiveness to the appeal of a few American Anglicans that forced Archbishop Secker, Bishops Terrick and Lowth to caution the episcopal zealots not to push their demand for a bishop too far. After the elevation of Frederick Cornwallis to Canterbury in 1768 and the appointment of Lord North as prime minister in 1770, the Church of England and the government maintained a deaf ear to the cries for a bishop from Johnson, Chandler, and associates.

The results of this investigation into the internal argument over a colonial bishop among Anglicans supports Cross' position, and clashes with Bridenbaugh's. Cross did not believe there was an eminent possibility that a bishop would be sent to America at any time in the 1760's, and any chance the Anglicans had of making a case for a colonial episcopate with the British government was shattered by the Stamp Act crisis in 1765.[1] Furthermore, the focus of the British government was increasingly upon imperial problems, and the ecclesiastical policy toward the American colonies remained as it had been for the previous fifty years.

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[1] Cross, op. cit., p. 252.

In contrast, Bridenbaugh argues that there was a real possibility that the British government might have permitted a bishop in America, but this is based primarily on the information supplied by the opponents of the episcopal scheme.[2]

> In the case of the American episcopate, there is every reason to conclude that it was the London Dissenters acting individually and through their organization who prevented any prelatical, ministerial, or parliamentary action from taking place, action which we have seen was seriously considered.[3]

Ezra Stiles, Jonathan Mayhew, and Charles Chauncy were talented adversaries of Anglicanism, but they were hardly in a position to know first-hand what the British government, English bishops, the S.P.G., and the Standing Committee of the S.P.G. were doing in secret about a colonial episcopate. No definite commitment on the part of the government or the bishops has come to light declaring that either or both groups endorsed a plan for an American bishop in the 1760's and 1770's.

The leaders of the Congregationalist and Presbyterian opposition realized at times that it was unlikely that the home government would respond favorably to the petitions of a few Anglican clergy. On November 5, 1766, Charles Chauncy confided to Ezra Stiles,

> the great men have too little regard for religion in any form, and too much business of more importance in their apprehension of another kind, than to concern themselves about the settlement of bishops in this part of the world. . . .For myself,

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[2] Bridenbaugh, op.cit., p. 266.

[3] Ibid., p. 278.

> I am in no great perplexity about this matter which has much disturbed the quiet of some others.[4]

In the midst of the controversy in 1768 Ezra Stiles recorded,

> I am told that Mr. Wheeler, just returned from obtaining episcopal orders in London, was several hours alone with Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, who told Mr. Wheeler that the ministry were entirely averse to sending bishops to America at present - and assigned this reason among others viz., that as America seemed on the point of rebellion and independency, the ministry were determined to retain every hold on America: that by necessitating the American episcopalians to have recourse to England for ordination they would be held in part.[5]

Ezra Stiles received further confirmation in 1772 from Philip Furneaux, a Dissenting minister at Clapham, that the English government was still not interested in promoting an American bishop.[6] In view of this evidence it is necessary to ask why the episcopal controversy became so heated in the northeastern quarter of America between the Congregationalists and Presbyterians and a few Anglican leaders.

It is reasonable to assume that Charles Chauncy and Ezra Stiles realized that there was a chance that the British government might see political possibilities in an American bishop. They knew that the government was wrestling with imperial problems. If it were demonstrated that the Anglican religion could foster the plans of the British ministry, they might support a bishop for America. It is also possible that the Congregationalists of New England were itching for a fight and that they decided to make Chandler's Appeal explaining the plan for an American bishop the target of their fury.

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[4] Charles Chauncy to Ezra Stiles, 5 November 1766. Ezra Stiles, Itineraries, p. 443.

[5] Ibid., p. 254.

[6] Philip Furneaux to Ezra Stiles, 8 April 1772. Ezra Stiles, Diary, I, p. 221.

Moreover, it is obvious that the episcopal problem was not settled in 1775 from the inside point of view. The episcopal controversy was necessarily suspended because of the war, but the problem remained. In fact, it was intensified, for there could be no episcopal ordinations in England during the hostilities. The ordination service contained a loyalty oath to the king. After 1776 many of the colonies passed their own loyalty oaths. Anyone who refused to comply was subject to legal prosecution. This included Anglican clergymen.[7]

In 1775 the most zealous advocate for a colonial episcopate had to admit that "the battle for the colonial episcopate was lost."[8] Thomas B. Chandler and Myles Cooper, President of King's College, fled to England in 1775; Samuel Johnson had died in 1772. There were only two members of the former inner group that pushed the campaign for a bishop left in America. Charles Inglis and Samuel Seabury both remained in New York City. Inglis became rector of Trinity Church upon the death of Samuel Auchmuty in 1778.[9] He too fled to England at the war's end in 1783.

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[7] Walter H. Stowe, "A Study in Conscience: Some Aspects of the Relations of the Clergy to the State," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XIX, (December 1950), p. 303.

[8] William J. Seabury, Memoir of Bishop Seabury (New York: Edwin S. Gorham, 1908), p. 128.

Samuel Seabury, on the other hand, decided to remain in America. He was an avid Loyalist during the war. He wrote and fought for the British cause, and his Letters of a Westchester Farmer provoked a young patriot, Alexander Hamilton, to do literary battle with him. Furthermore, Seabury served as chaplain to one of the king's regiments. There was no lack of zeal on his part for the British cause.[10] In the 1760's and 1770's Seabury had been equally devoted to the episcopal scheme. In the postwar years he would again take up the fight for an American episcopate, but his loyalist position would create further difficulties for any scheme he would propose. Nor could he count on the assistance of Chandler, Cooper, and Inglis. He would have to find new associates who were willing to cooperate with him.

At the same time that Seabury was promoting the episcopal scheme in the 1760's and 1770's, another young Anglican minister, William White, was establishing himself as assistant to Richard Peters, rector of Christ and Saint Peter's churches in Philadelphia. William White was born in America and educated at the College of Philadelphia. He became a faithful and highly respected assistant to Richard

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[9] Manross, op. cit., p. 178.

[10] Ibid., p. 174.

Peters.[11] From his position in Philadelphia White was a first hand observer of the episcopal controversy in the pre-war years. In his Memoirs White stated that ". . .from what he then heard and observed, he believed it was impossible to have obtained the concurrence of a respectable number of laymen in any measure for obtaining an American bishop."[12] The reasons White noted for the attitude of resistance on the part of the laity was the fear that a bishop might be made an instrument of civil government and thus become dangerous to their future security. In White's experience, resistance to an American episcopate was prevalent among Episcopalians. He stated, "certain it is that no endeavours for lay petitions for episcopacy were made."[13]

Furthermore, White identified himself as one of the Anglicans who resisted an American bishop. His personal position was that "it is not unlikely that the British government, had it sanctioned an Episcopacy in the colonies, would have endeavored to render it subservient to the support of a party."[14] White's sentiments were quite likely the sentiments of a majority of Anglicans in the decade and a half before the Revolution.

Although White, like Seabury, remained in America throughout the war, he was a firm supporter of the American cause. He served as chaplain to the Continental Congress. When the British occupied Philadelphia, he fled, and the rector of Christ and Saint Peter's Church, Jacob Duché, turned loyalist and left with the British. White was elected rector in 1777 and became rector of two of the most influential and self-supporting Anglican churches in America. At one time he was the only Anglican minister in Pennsylvania.[15] The reputation which White earned during the war years and the position he acquired placed him in a key position of leadership in the American church.

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[11] Ibid., p. 180.

[12] William White, Memoirs (Philadelphia: S. Potter & Co., 1820), p. 69.

[13] Ibid., p. 72.

[14] Ibid., p. 73.

There is a further point of interest in the years of the episcopal controversy from 1761 to 1775. In this period apparently none of the American Anglicans questioned the necessity of episcopal ordination for their clergymen. Naturally the leaders of the episcopal scheme pointed out the hardships that had to be faced by a candidate travelling to England. No other major religious body in colonial America had a similar problem. However, the majority of American Anglicans preferred to continue the trans-Atlantic trips rather than petition for a resident bishop. In all the records examined there was not one case recorded in which a man failed to go into the Anglican ministry because of the required trip to England.

In view of the resistance of a majority of American Anglicans to a resident bishop, it is pertinent to ask why the requirement of episcopal ordination was retained. The answer may first be found in the fact that the Anglican church held episcopal ordination to be scriptural. Chandler in his Appeal made much of this claim.[16] To many people this argument was convincing. The influence of policy and tradition undoubtedly convinced other Anglicans of its value. Perhaps the journey to England was looked upon as proof that the prospective minister was sincere in his calling. No serious-minded person would stand the expense, face the dangers of an ocean voyage, and declare his intentions publicly unless he were devoted to his profession. Another important fact was that a number of the clergy in America were subsidized by the S.P.G. with its headquarters in London. It was certainly to the prospective minister's advantage to make personal contact with the Society if he expected their aid. Besides, it gave the Society and the English bishops an opportunity to gain first-hand knowledge of the church and its needs in America.

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[15] Manross, op. cit., p. 180.

Perhaps there were other reasons why the American Anglicans did not challenge the importance of episcopal ordination in the late colonial period. If there were other reasons, they did not express them. The opposition to a resident bishop provided the proper environment for any reservations or dissatisfaction with episcopal ordination to be expressed. This fact is further proof that the American Anglican resistance to a resident bishop was inspired primarily by a fear that the office of bishop would be turned to serve the British government.

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[16] Chandler, Appeal, pp. 28-29.

Chandler in his Appeal to the Public claimed in 1768 that the American Anglicans only wanted a primitive bishop who could ordain, confirm, and visit the clergy. This type of episcopacy was a far cry from the Anglican bishops of the Church of England. The English bishops were members of the nobility as well as ecclesiastical officials, they were appointed by the king, supported by tithes, and far removed from the local parishes. In Chandler's and Dr. Johnson's view a bishop in America need not have state status, tax support, and social prestige, but they could not explain how these appendages of episcopacy could be removed and still find someone willing to undertake the office.[17] Nor were Johnson and Chandler in a position to alter the English episcopal tradition, revise the one hundred thirty-four canons of the Church of England, or provide the financial support necessary to maintain the type of bishop they wanted. They apparently expected the English churchmen to resolve these weighty matters for them, but in this they were disappointed. If the home government had granted their request, it would almost certainly have kept an official hand upon the bishop. This was the point of greatest fear because the government was endeavoring to increase its control in America in the 1760's. Chandler denied this possibility, but his subsequent course of action belied the sincerity of his explanation of a non-political bishop who could not be used as an agent of the state when he turned Loyalist and aided England.[18]

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[17] "Seabury Minutes," X, HMPEC, p. 128.

The argument for a primitive bishop did not change public opinion about episcopacy in the 1760's and 1770's, but it did point up certain facts. There was no serious objections to the Anglicans having a church official who could ordain, confirm, and visit the clergy. The objections were based upon a dislike for such an official coming or being sent from England. Secondly, objections were raised to the political appendages to the office whereby the bishop was a state official, administrator of an ecclesiastical court, and a representative of the king. Furthermore, there was no way by which the colonists could control such an official in the 1760's and 1770's. Not even the churchmen themselves were ready to take the chance on receiving a bishop for these reasons. When the time came that they could nominate, elect, and control a bishop as they did their ministers in the parishes of Virginia, Carolina, and elsewhere, there was a possibility that American Anglicans would accept a primitive bishop. But in 1776 the possible combination of an elected bishop and one who could only ordain, confirm, and visit the clergy seemed visionary.

In 1775 the dilemma was simply this: if the British won the war, a resident bishop in America would be resented more than ever. A bishop would then symbolize a victorious power as well as a political system. On the other hand, if America won the war, it was not known whether England would alter her laws to permit Americans to be ordained without the oath of allegiance to the king. Furthermore, no one could predict how deep and prolonged the resentment which the Americans and British felt toward each other would last. It was, moreover, impossible to tell how the American Anglicans would feel about an American bishop if it became possible to procure one. The laity in general had opposed a bishop in the 1760's and 1770's. Many of the clergy were indifferent to the idea. If this attitude persisted on the part of the American Anglicans into the postwar years, there was a real possibility that any future plan to procure a bishop was destined for defeat. In 1775 only time and circumstances could reveal the conclusion of this perennial colonial problem.

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[18] DAB, III, p. 616.

Charles Inglis realized the precarious nature of the episcopal problem. He believed that whatever was to be done in regard to a resident bishop would have to be done within a reasonable time after the war if it were ever to be accomplished. In 1776 he wrote a pamphlet entitled, The State of the Anglo-American Church in 1776. His commentary upon the future of an American episcopate was prophetic. He wrote,

> if fifty years elapse without any episcopate here, there will be no occasion for one afterwards; and to fix one then will be as impracticable as it would be useless. . . .The time indeed, is not yet

fully come to move in this affair; but I apprehend it is not very distant, and, therefore, it should be thought of.[19]

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[19] Charles Inglis, State of the Anglo-American Church in 1776. n.d.

PART II

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL SOLUTION

1782-1789

CHAPTER VII

THE AFTERMATH OF WAR

The Revolutionary War seriously disrupted the ecclesiastical connections between the American Anglican church and the Church of England. For the first time in a century and a half, American churchmen could not look to England for guidance or assistance. During the war the number of Anglican clergymen in America was reduced by nearly one half, and in 1783 there were no immediate replacements. If the ministerial vacancies were filled, the prospective candidates would now have to come from the American churches. The seven years of war inflicted extensive property damage upon the churches. The prejudice engendered against Great Britain was in turn focused upon the American Anglican churches because of their ties with England. The six colonies in which the Anglican church was established by law all disestablished the church by 1784. No other religious body in America suffered so severely and extensively from the war, nor was any religious group as suddenly thrown completely on its own resources. Yet by 1789, the Episcopal churches had successfully organized state and national conventions, devised their own constitution, and consummated an ecclesiastical revolution in the area of episcopacy.

The shortage of ministers was one of the first problems the church had to consider if the former Anglican churches were to survive. Late in 1783 two candidates for Holy Orders, Mason Locke Weems and Edward Gantt, left Maryland for London. Their application to the Bishop of London was considered but denied. Three audiences with the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Moore, were held to discuss the issue. Finally, Weems and Gantt were denied ordination because the ritual included an oath of loyalty to the king. America was independent, and such an oath was inconsistent for those who planned to serve in America. The English bishops believed an act of parliament was necessary to give them authority to omit the loyalty oath. No one knew when and if parliament would concur in this request.[1] In the meantime there was a real possibility the American churchmen would institute a different type of ordination to supply their ministerial needs temporarily.[2]

The extent of the ministerial losses is revealed in the following chart.[3]

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[1] Richard G. Salomon, "British Legislation and American Episcopacy," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XX (September 1951), p. 279.

[2] Richard G. Salomon (ed.), William White, The Case of the Protestant Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered (Church Historical Society Publication, 1954), p. 33.

[3] George W. Lamb (compiler), "Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies by the Bishop of London: 1745-1781." Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XIII (June 1944), pp. 131-143. Walter H. Stowe, "The Clergy of the Episcopal Church in 1785," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XX (September 1951), p. 253.

The Number and Location of
Anglican Clergymen in America

	1774	1785
Connecticut	24	18
Massachusetts	14	5
New Hampshire	2	1
Rhode Island	1	3
Vermont	0	1
New York	16	6
New Jersey	11	6
Pennsylvania	16	9
Delaware	0	2
Maryland	54	30
Virginia	105	56
North Carolina	18	5
South Carolina	23	13
Georgia	2	0
Total	286	155

The reduction in the total number of Anglican clergymen was due to several factors. There were many Loyalists among the clergy in the northern colonies. A majority of the S.P.G. missionaries fled the country rather than change their allegiance.[4] In addition, several of the leading clergymen in the same geographical area fled to England. Henry Caner, Myles Cooper, Thomas B. Chandler, and Charles Inglis all removed to England. In the middle colonies Jacob Duché, Thomas Barton, Alexander Murry, and Samuel Cooke fled. South of Pennsylvania the story was different. In Maryland twenty-four resigned their parishes rather than take the oath of allegiance to the state, but not all of them were Loyalists.[5] It is probable the majority of them felt like Thomas J. Claggett, who retired to his farm and tried to maintain a neutral position. Of the one hundred and five Virginia clergy in 1776 only fifteen were known Loyalists, and ninety took the oath of allegiance to the state.[6] South Carolina had only five Loyalists among the Anglican clergy.[7]

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[4] William W. Manross, A History of the American Episcopal Church (New York: Morehouse Publishing Co., 1950), p. 173.

[5] Ibid., p. 182.

Almost all the S.P.G. missionaries were Loyalists. Their support, or at least part of it, came from England. The suspicion of disloyalty on the part of the Society in England toward a missionary would usually lead to his dismissal. For example in 1779 the Society stopped payments to Robert Blackwell, missionary at Gloster and Waterford, Massachusetts, and Edward Bass, missionary at Newbury, Massachusetts, because they were charged with supporting the American cause. Bass was specifically charged with preaching in favor of the rebels and observing the days of fasts and thanksgiving appointed by the Continental Congress. In December, 1782, both Blackwell and Bass were dismissed by the Society.[8] Thus the missionaries of the S.P.G. had to be circumspect in their conduct if they expected their financial support continued. In contrast the clergy who were entirely supported locally were, on the whole, in sympathy with the rebel cause.

Death was the second fact which accounted for the loss of a considerable number of Anglican clergymen in the years 1775 to 1783. At least two died in Massachusetts.[9]

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[6] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, p. 415.

[7] Manross, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[8] Perry (ed.), Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church - Massachusetts, p. 602.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 583.

Samuel Auchmity, rector of Trinity Church, New York, died in 1777.[10] Three of the Pennsylvania clergymen died during the war,[11] and eleven in Maryland.[12] The number of clergy who died in Virginia is not definite, but there were nineteen present in 1774 who are unaccounted for in 1784.[13] In addition to those who died there were five in Virginia, one in New Jersey, and one in Connecticut who collapsed emotionally during the war. Altogether there were thirty-six ministers lost by death and seven from mental disorders during the eight-year period.

The former Anglican church in America was further depressed by the closing of many of its churches. In 1775 the Continental Congress set July 20th as a day of fasting and prayer for the American cause. Throughout the northern and middle colonies the Anglican churches, with few exceptions, were closed rather than cooperate with Congress and remain open for the day of national prayer. In many cases, the churches that did not open on July 20, 1775, remained closed throughout the war as a silent protest against the American Revolution, In Massachusetts only two Anglican churches remained open, in New Jersey one, and in Pennsylvania only the city churches remained open to demonstrate their support of Congress.[14] After July 20, 1775, it was considered a treasonable act to pray for King George instead of the Congress. Some churches and clergy later decided to omit the objectionable part of the ritual; others did not and remained closed.

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[10] DAB, I, p. 422.

[11] Perry (ed), Papers of the Church in Pennsylvania 1680-1778, p. 132.

[12] Rightmyer, Maryland's Established Church, p. 118.

[13] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, pp. 608-612.

Samuel Seabury in 1779 was concerned about the number of Anglican churches in the northern and middle colonies that were still closed rather than omit the prayers for the king. Seabury sought the assistance of Thomas B. Chandler in London and requested him to procure the Bishop of London's permission to omit the objectionable prayers. Chandler conferred with Bishop Robert Lowth, but he could only report to Seabury, "his Lordship thought the matter should be left to the discretion of the clergy themselves, and said that the archbishops and bishops in general agreed with him in this opinion."[15] This placed the problem squarely on the conscience of each clergyman. The basic question which each man had to decide was whether he considered his oath to the king equal to, or inherent in, his obligation to God. A few men like Abraham Beach of New Jersey and Jeremiah Leaming of Connecticut decided to omit the prayers for the king and serve as many congregations as possible. In contrast

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[14] Clara Loveland, The Critical Years (The Seabury Press: Greenwich, Connecticut, 1956), p. 15.

[15] Thomas B. Chandler, Memorandums 1775-1786, p. 66. A typewritten copy of Mss diary is in General Theological Seminary Library, New York.

[16] Manross, op. cit., p. 181.

John Graves of Providence, Rhode Island, relinquished his position rather than delete the prayers, though forty-four members of his congregation petitioned him to do so.[17]

The part of the Anglican ritual which included prayers for the king, royal family, and parliament caused no serious problem in the South. The Virginia legislature in 1776 passed an act which required the Anglican clergy to use an amended version of the prayers omitting the objectionable parts.[18] The Maryland convention in 1776 directed that every mention of the king be omitted in the Anglican ritual. The churches that had a minister remained open, but the liturgy was modified. A new constitution for the State of North Carolina was adopted on December 18, 1776. Article thirty-four stated "there shall be no Establishment of any one religious Church or Denomination in this state."[19] From this point onward, the individual church was free to adjust its own order of worship. South Carolina purposefully dropped its state support of the Anglican church in 1778.[20] This meant all churches and ministers were placed on their own resources. They were free to revise or delete from the liturgy. However, by 1778 the clergy who favored England had fled, and those who remained had no difficulty in adjusting the liturgy.

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[17] Walter H. Stowe, "A Study in Conscience: Some Aspects of the Relations of the Clergy to the State," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XIX (December 1950), pp. 306-307.

[18] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, p. 417.

[19] Saunders, The Colonial Records of North Carolina, X, p. 1011.

[20] George C. Rogers, Jr., Church and State in Eighteenth Century South Carolina (Dalcho Historical Society, Charleston, 1959), p. 22.

During the conflict many Anglican churches, parsonages, and glebes were wholly or partly destroyed. There are only spotty records of this destruction, but these do indicate the extent and seriousness of the problem. At least four churches in Massachusetts were totally or partly destroyed.[21] In Connecticut two more churches were lost along with a parsonage.[22] Trinity Church, New York, was one of the major churches destroyed.[23] Trinity Church, Newark, was burned and Saint Peter's in Perth Amboy was used as a billet.[24] Both Saint Philip's and Saint Michael's in Charleston were damaged as well as Christ Church, Savannah, George.[25] Added to these losses was the problem of property deterioration which also took its toll.

Anglican influence in higher education was reduced considerably during the war years. William and Mary College and King's College had been centers of Anglican activity in the colonial period. The College of Philadelphia had a definite Anglican flavor because of the presence of Provost William Smith. Many of the Anglican ministers in America had been trained at these institutions. By the end of the 1780's a major transition had been completed in all three institutions. For example, William and Mary was reorganized in 1779. The two schools of divinity were not included in the new university. James Madison, an Anglican minister, was elected president, but the Anglican influence was diminished by the absence of a divinity faculty and student body.[26] The Episcopal Church in Virginia had no seminary to prepare ministers for the next forty years. King's College in New York was renamed Columbia College in 1784. The new name was in keeping with the patriotic trend of the time. A new president, William Samuel Johnson, was elected, but he was not a clergyman. Johnson's father, the Reverend Dr. Samuel Johnson, had been the first president of King's College.[27] The younger Johnson had disagreed with his father in the 1760's about the necessity of a bishop in America. In 1784 the tables were turned, and an Anglican layman became the head of an institution that had been a center for pro-episcopal agitation.

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[21] Perry (ed.), Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church-Massachusetts, pp. 599-601.

[22] Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, pp. 203, 205.

[23] Manross, op.cit., p. 178.

[24] Nelson R. Burr, The Anglican Church in New Jersey (Church Historical Society: Philadelphia, 1954), p. 393.

[25] George W. Williams, St. Michael's Charleston, 1751-1951 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), p.1.

The College of Philadelphia experienced difficulties in the war years. The Assembly of Pennsylvania in November 1779 confiscated the rights and property of the college.

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[26] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, p. 431.

[27] George C. Groce, Jr., William Samuel Johnson A Maker of the Constitution (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), p. 174.

The University of the State of Pennsylvania was chartered in its place, but William Smith was not continued as provost. When in 1789 the College of Philadelphia was restored its rights, Smith returned to his former post. Smith's reinstatement was short-lived because the college and university were merged in 1791. This time a Presbyterian minister, John Ewing, was elected provost.[28] Although Smith had been prominent in Maryland through the founding of Washington College in 1780, he left the presidency of that institution when he returned to Philadelphia in 1789. Thus a once powerful figure in the Anglican church in Maryland and Pennsylvania was no longer in a key position where he could promote the church.

The prejudice engendered against the former Anglicans because of their ties with England had to be resolved before the Episcopal churches could gain status in the public eye. In the northern states the anti-Anglican bias was produced primarily by the pro-British activities of Seabury, Chandler, and Inglis. It was no secret that Seabury was the author of "Letters from a Westchester Farmer," in which he scorned the American cause and praised the King.[29] Moreover, many of the Anglican clergy in the northern states had refused to cooperate with Congress in any way. Some clergy were suspected of supplying intelligence data to the British forces. It was, therefore, difficult for the public to disassociate these memories from the former Anglican churchmen in the postwar years. The anti-Anglican prejudice was as strong in the South as in Connecticut or New York, but the motivation was entirely different. It was the established position of the church from Maryland to Georgia which aroused determined opposition. This attitude brought down the privileged position the church enjoyed.

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[28] Albert F. Gehenheimer, William Smith (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943), p. 28. Edward P. Cheyney, History of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), p. 162.

[29] Burr, The Anglican Church in New Jersey, p. 638.

Disestablishment came swiftly and easily in Maryland. There does not appear to have been any radical movement against the establishment in Maryland. The Revolutionary Government, however, felt that the established church was inconsistent with the basic right of religious freedom. The Declaration of Rights agreed upon in November, 1776, forbade any form of taxation for the support of the church. The convention did, however, specifically reserve the property of the Anglican church for its future use.[30] Thus there was no prolonged battle over disestablishment or a desire to confiscate church property. In effect, this placed the Anglican churches in Maryland in a position to organize themselves as they saw fit. The state government reinforced its position in 1779 when it passed a Vestry Act providing for the election of vestries in each parish who would serve as trustees of the church property.[31] The clergy and laity alone would determine future church polity in Maryland.

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[30] Rightmyer, Maryland's Established Church, p. 116.

[31] Ibid., p. 118.

The immediate problem which the Maryland churches had to resolve after disestablishment was how to support the ministers who remained as rectors. In the first five years after disestablishment thirty-three incumbents left their posts, and by 1783 only fifteen clergy out of a pre-war total of fifty-four remained in parishes. Fifteen of those who left parishes were Loyalists, but others probably found it too difficult to serve a parish and earn a living at another employment. Two parishes did institute programs to support their ministers financially, and in both cases they had ministerial services throughout the war. All Faiths Parish, Saint Mary's County, agreed that the rector, John Stephen, should use the glebe land and received subscribed offerings. Chester Parish arranged to pay its rector 600 bushels of wheat per year.[32] If the other churches had responded to the needs of the clergy, it is possible the two ministers who took parishes in other states, the three who retired, and the five who remained idle rather than take the state loyalty oath could have been retained in the churches' service.

Resentment against the established church in Virginia had existed for several years among the Dissenters, but it reached a climax in 1776. After the state legislature adopted the Declaration of Rights in 1776 the Dissenters petitioned for the disestablishment of the Anglican church.[33] The Presbyterians in Prince Edward, Albemarle, Amherst, and Buckingham Counties were the most resolute opponents. In contrast, only three parishes out of a hundred produced petitions to retain the establishment. In December, 1776, the Assembly acted and exempted Dissenters from contributing to the established church. State support for the clergy was repealed in 1779, but at this point public opinion shifted. A number of counties and communities petitioned for a general assessment and regulation of ministers for the welfare of the state. The advocates and opponents of the alternate plan were so evenly divided in the Assembly that no decision was made. This stalemate existed until 1784, when the legislature provided for the incorporation of the Episcopal Church. The bill for a general assessment eventually died in committee in 1786, though it had the support of Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and John Marshall. James Madison and the Presbyterian and Baptist opponents of the measure were able to delay consideration of it by the Assembly and eventually change enough people's opinions to defeat it.[34] The controversy and indecision over disestablishment presented a heavy burden for the Virginian churchmen to endure.

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[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 118-120.

The Committee of Religion of the Virginia state legislature looked favorably upon a general assessment bill in 1784.[35] The intent of the bill was to levy an assessment upon every Christian for the support of the clergy of his particular denomination. Non-Christians could be exempted. This would mean that the Anglican clergy would become virtually independent of the laity, and, once a minister was accepted by a vestry, it would be nearly impossible to remove him. The state in effect would become the receiving and dispensing agents for ministers' salaries. For a time it seemed that the support of Governor Patrick Henry, George Washington, Richard H. Lee, and George Mason would secure the bill's passage. However, James Madison wrote "Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments" and circulated it in at least nine counties. Madison argued that freedom of religious expression was an inalienable right and must be kept free from the pressures of society and the legislature.[36] The dispute reached such proportions that Washington confessed to George Mason, "as the matter now stands, I wish an assessment had never been agitated, and as it has gone so far, that the bill should die an easy death."[37] This is exactly what happened, for the bill was never brought to a vote.

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[33] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, p. 396.

[34] H. J. Eckenrode, Separation of Church and State in Virginia (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1910), p. 83.

The long process through which the Virginia Anglican church went to achieve disestablishment was detrimental to the churches. Local vestries were not sure until 1786 whether they would have to provide full or partial financial support for the clergy. An act incorporating the minister and vestry a body politic had been passed in 1784, but there was no way of knowing whether the state would interfere in church affairs at some future date. The opposition to the establishment had painted a dark picture of the Anglican church and its privileged position in an effort to achieve disestablishment. For these reasons the Virginia Anglican church was one of the last to reorganize itself after the war. If the decision to disestablish the church had been made final in 1776, the churches would not have been behind the majority of the Episcopal churches in other states in reorganizing themselves. It is more than likely that Virginia would have become the leader in reorganization, but the state's lingering control over ecclesiastical affairs was an inhibiting force in Virginia.

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[35] Gaillard Hunt (ed.), The Writings of James Madison (12 vols.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901) II, pp. 58-59.

[36] Ibid., pp. 183-191.

[37] George Washington to George Mason, 3 October 1785. Fitzpatrick (ed.), The Writings of George Washington, XXVIII, p. 285.

The South Carolina legislature disestablished the Anglican church in 1778 by omitting to make financial provision for its support. This was the goal sought by William Tennent, pastor of the Congregational Church in Charleston. Tennent was a native of New Jersey and educated at Princeton. In 1760 he was licensed to preach. He first served in Connecticut until 1772, when he was called to Charleston. Tennent served only five years in Charleston, for he died in 1777, but during his short pastorate he became the leader of the opposition to the Anglican establishment.[38] On January 11, 1777, he made his plea for free and independent support of each church by its members. Tennent was not satisfied with mere toleration. He pointed out that even in 1777 marriage licenses were refused to all clergy but the Anglicans. The Dissenting churches could not sue for their own property at common law. In effect the Dissenters had to undergo double taxation for religion because they had to contribute to the state, which in turn aided financially the establishment as well as support their own churches.[39] A year later the Anglican church was disestablished in South Carolina, but Tennent had died before the decision was made.

In Georgia the first state constitution in 1777 granted free exercise of religion and specified that "no one was to be forced to support any religious teacher other than those of one's own profession."[40] Theoretically it was possible for one to be taxed for the support of his own church. It was 1798 before this possibility was removed. In the meantime there had been no outcry from the Dissenters. In contrast to the situation in Virginia and South Carolina, the Dissenters had received liberal treatment in Georgia. Then, too, the Anglican church had never been strong there. At the time of the Revolutionary War there were only two well organized parishes, Christ Church, Savannah and Saint Paul's, Augusta.[41]

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[38] David Ramsay, The History of the Independent or Congregational Church in Charleston, S.C. from Its Origin Till the Year 1814; With an Appendix: Containing the speech of the Rev. William Tennent, A.M. in the Commons House of Assembly, Charleston, S.C. January 11, 1777, on the Petition of the Dissenters from the church then Established in that State (Philadelphia: J. Maxwell, 1815), p. 22.

[39] Ibid., p. 57.

[40] Reba C. Strickland, Religion and the State of Georgia in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), p. 163.

The opposition of the various religious groups to the Anglican establishment brought to an end its privileged position. The alliance which the church had with the colonial government proved costly. Disestablishment meant the loss of all financial assistance from the states. Anglican churchmen not trained in the problems of local financial support had a serious problem to resolve. A financial crisis encompassed all the churches in the South and the majority of the churches in the middle and northern states. The reason for the crisis in the states from Pennsylvania to Massachusetts was that the S.P.G. had withdrawn all its financial assistance after 1783.[42] In this area most of the clergymen had been partially subsidized by the S.P.G. Now all the clergy were dependent upon the voluntary support of their local congregations. Only a few churches like Trinity Church, New York and Christ and Saint Peter's churches, Philadelphia, had developed the practice of local support in the colonial period. It took considerable time before the majority of churches were able to handle their financial requirements. The development of financial support in each local church insured a closer working relationship between minister and vestry than generally existed in the colonial period.

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[41] Ibid., p. 167.

[42] Manross, op. cit., p. 182.

In spite of the serious decline and loss which the Anglican church in America experienced, it made a remarkable recovery. Within seven years after the war there were state conventions in most of the states, a national ecclesiastical convention, and a sufficient number of bishops to perpetuate the episcopal tradition. This success was not easily won, and the episcopal question provoked more controversy than any other issue. In the solution of the problem, Willam White, rector of Christ and Saint Peter's Churches in Philadelphia, took the initiative. White had earned the respect of the leaders of the Revolution because of his loyalty and service as a chaplain to the Continental Congress. Robert Morris, his brother-in-law, was a member of the Congress and financier of the war. The service White rendered to the church during the period of reorganization again demonstrated his ability.[43]

In the summer of 1782, White published a pamphlet, *The Case of the Protestant Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*. This pamphlet in time proved to be the most important piece of literature on the subject. It was

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[43] Salomon (ed.), William White, *The Case*, p. 8. Walter H. Stowe (ed.), "The Autobiography of Bishop Whiliam White," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXII (December 1953), p. 394.

White's first publication and he was thirty-four years old at the time. When The Case was published, the States were still at war with England. A preliminary peace treaty was signed on November 30, 1782, though it was not concluded until September 3, 1783. The rapid change in the political situation was not anticipated by White when he wrote. Instead, he expected a prolonged period of uncertainty before Great Britain and America made peace.[44] Whether the sudden turn of political events would have altered his original proposals on reorganization it is impossible to state. Yet his consistent adherence to his original proposals after the Treaty of Paris was signed indicates White was convinced of the value of the plan he offered.

White argued that the former ties binding the churches in America together were broken, and "their future continuance can be provided for only by voluntary associations for union and good government."[45] This meant in essence that each church in America was independent and free to decide whether or not it would participate in any plan to organize a state or national body. There was also the possibility a church might not elect to cooperate with the others. In this event there was no coercive action the other churches could take to produce a union. The churches themselves would have to meet and decide whether or not there would be a union and if so what kind.

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[44] Manross, op. cit., p. 190.

[45] Salomon (ed.), William White, The Case, p. 22.

In the second place, White advocated a convention of clergy and laymen to decide all matters in regard to religion.

> In the parent church, though whatever regards religion may be enacted by the clergy in convocation, it must afterwards have the sanction of all orders of men, comprehended in the parliament. It will be necessary to deviate from this practice (though not from the principles) of that church, by convening the clergy and laity in one body.[46]

White proposed no distinction or designation of specific power to the clergy or the laity. All representatives would meet in one body and vote on all issues. No area of church government was placed beyond the authority of this body, and no one or ones were granted veto power. White believed it was this body which should have the authority to elect a superior order of ministers.

On the subject of episcopacy White advanced the most controversial ideas of his career. In respect to a bishop in America he was careful to use terms characterizing the spiritual functions of a bishop, i.e. "superior order," "overseer," and "president," rather than ecclesiastical terms. He also believed that any clergyman elevated to the office should continue to serve as a parochial clergyman, confined to a small district.[47] White was extremely careful to avoid giving the impression he favored the social position and ecclesiastical authority of the English bishops. Except for his power of ordination and confirmation, a clergyman of a "superior order" would serve as every other parish minister. There is no expressed or implied idea that the clergymen designated as "superior order" would be separate or distinct from the clergy and laity in a convention. The control of church affairs would still be exercised by a majority of the convention.

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[46] Ibid., p. 22.

[47] Ibid., p. 25.

White frankly admitted in his pamphlet that in colonial America "there cannot be produced an instance of laymen in America, . . .soliciting the introduction of a bishop; it was probably by a great majority of them thought an hazardous experiment."[48] He thought the basic reason for the opposition was fear that the king's authority might be extended over the colonies through the office of a bishop. Therefore, he was very careful not to arouse former fears and prejudice. He believed that when the Anglicans in America decided to introduce episcopacy, it would be free from the slightest danger of tyranny, temporal or spiritual. White counterbalanced his argument in favor of a "superior order" with the assertion that a temporary departure from episcopacy was justified under existing conditions.[49] By this he suggested that a Presbyterian type ordination in which three or more ministers ordain another by the laying on of hands was acceptable. White was willing to accept this deviation from episcopal practice because he thought it impossible to obtain ordinations in England, It was, therefore, more important to devise a substitute for episcopal ordination than to permit the churches to languish for a lack of ministers. In time, bishops could be added to the church and episcopal rites reinstated. A majority of Episcopalians, White believed, felt as he did about episcopacy.

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[48] Ibid., p. 29.

[49] Ibid., p. 33.

In support of his position White argued "it will not be difficult to prove, that a temporary departure from episcopacy would be warranted by her doctrines, by her practice, and by the principles on which episcopal government is asserted."[50] First, he cited the work of the great Anglican apologist, Richard Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. Hooker upheld the essential place of episcopacy in the Scriptures and church tradition, but he recognized that some churches had devised different forms of church government. These deviations from episcopacy were lamentable, but sometimes they were due to the "necessity of the present hath cast upon them."[51] In neither instance did Hooker label differing forms of polity as apostate. The implication is that churches which wanted to imitate the Scriptures closely would adopt bishops. Furthermore, White claimed that Archbishops Thomas Cranmer, John Whitgift, and James Usher, as well as Bishop Benjamin Hoadly, had held similar views.[52]

White illustrated his point by referring to a temporary departure from episcopacy within the Church of England in the sixteenth century. During the reign of Queen Mary, many Protestants fled England and took refuge in Frankfort, Germany, and Geneva, Switzerland. Some of the English Protestants were ordained while in Germany and Switzerland in the presbyterian tradition and when they returned to England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth they were not required to be reordained by bishops.[53] One outstanding example was William Whittingham, who was ordained in Geneva in 1555 with the encouragement and possibly the participation of John Knox and John Calvin. He returned to England in 1560, and in 1563 he was appointed Dean of Durham. The archbishopric of York was offered him in 1577, but he refused. When the future Archbishop of York, Edwin Sandys, tried to discredit Whittingham by pointing out his irregular ordination, the Earl of Huntingdon and Matthew Hutton supported the Dean. "Parliament had already passed an act (13 Eliz. C.12) practically acknowledging the validity of the ordination of ministers whether according to Roman Catholic or the rights of the reformed churches on the continent."[54] Archbishop Sandy's charge was dismissed. Later, those who opposed White's The Case did not attempt to refute his primary sources.

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[50] Ibid., p. 33.

[51] Richard Hooker, The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity (2 vols.; London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1954), I, pp. 352-353.

[52] Salomon (ed.), White, The Case, p. 39.

It was too much to expect all the former Anglicans to agree to White's plan. The most violent reaction came from a Connecticut clergyman and a zealous advocate of the colonial episcopate. Abraham Jarvis attempted to reprove White for his argument in a letter dated March 25, 1783. "Really, sir," he wrote,

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[53] DNB, LXI, pp. 150-153.

[54] Ibid., p. 153.

> we think an Episcopal Church without Episcopacy, if it be not a contradiction in terms, would, however, be a new thing under the sun. . . .We know it is totally abhorrent from the principles of the church in the northern states, and are fully convinced they will never submit to it.[55]

Charles Inglis, who was still in New York in June of 1783, expressed his opposition in a letter to White, "in short my good brother, you proposed not what you thought absolutely best and most eligible, but what the supposed necessity of the times compelled you to adopt."[56] Inglis apparently could not forget White's plan. Perhaps he heard it discussed by the S.P.G. missionaries who were present in New York awaiting passage to England. In any event, Inglis was deeply disturbed about the innovations White proposed, for he again registered his opposition in a letter dated October 22, 1783. "I must be candid in telling you that I can neither see the propriety or the advantage of the scheme you propose."[57] Inglis soon departed for England, but in 1785 he was rewarded for his service to the Anglican church and Great Britain by being consecrated the first bishop for Nova Scotia.

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[55] Abraham Jarvis to William White, 25 March 1783. Salomon (ed.), William White, The Case, p. 50.

[56] John W. Lydekker (ed.), The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, 1759 to 1787 (London: S.P.G., 1936), p. 227.

[57] Charles Inglis to William White, 22 October 1783. Salomon (ed.), William White, The Case, p. 62.

The Case was circulated in England as well as America. There it provoked two Anglican clergymen who had formerly served in America to write the author. Alexander Murry had been an S.P.G. missionary at Reading and Mulatton, Pennsylvania. He advised White to write the English bishops and apply for episcopal ordinations.[58] If this failed, there was time enough to consider an alternate plan of action. Jacob Duché, under whom White had served, agreed with The Case in general, but he did not believe it was necessary to depart temporarily from episcopal ordinations. He, too, advised White to first approach the English bishops and request the appropriate ordinations.[59] Abraham Beach of New Brunswick and John Stuart, former S.P.G. missionary to New York, both approved of The Case, though they questioned whether it was really necessary to temporarily depart from episcopacy.

In contrast to those who disagreed with The Case or who took some exception to its proposals, there were others who agreed with it. Samuel Provoost, rector of Trinity Church, New York strongly approved. James Duane, vestryman of Trinity Church and mayor of New York City, gave his endorsement.[60] There were others who agreed, though less enthusiastically. There is no record which indicates opposition from any of the laity toward The Case. The clergy and laymen in Maryland and Virginia did not oppose the plan, though William Smith and William West of Maryland and David Griffith of Virginia were well aware of it. Neither of these three church leaders reported any reservations to The Case from their respective Episcopal conventions. Both North Carolina and Georgia were too weak and disorganized to register their opinion. South Carolina did not indicate its opinion of The Case in 1783, but the cooperation of its church leaders in the later efforts to organize a national convention along the lines proposed by White suggest the leaders heartily approved.

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[58] Alexander Murry to William White, 26 July 1783. Salomon (ed.), William White, The Case, p. 57.

[59] Jacob Duche to William White, 11 August 1783, Ibid., pp. 58-59.

[60] Ibid., pp. 62-64.

The publication of The Case did as much as any single event to placate public prejudice against the Anglicans and to demonstrate the reasonableness of their system of church government. The author was willing to entertain a wide variety of opinions about episcopacy. In his discussion of episcopal ordinations he did not speak disparagingly of other types of ordination nor state or imply that episcopal ordination was superior. White attempted to show that episcopal government was compatible with republican government and the Anglican churches were friendly to it.[61] Certainly the type of "superior order" White proposed was compatible with representative government. He held to the position that a convention of clergy and laymen duly elected by the parishes should legislate for the church. In the past this had not been true in England or America. Thus he advocated a system of representative church government along republican lines.

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[61] Ibid., p. 32.

White performed a second service with his pamphlet by provoking his fellow churchmen to discuss methods of reorganization. It was impossible to resolve the plight of the former Anglican churches until the clergy and laymen faced their problems squarely. By virtue of his authorship and geographical location in Philadelphia, White became a veritable center for church correspondence. The relationships established through his correspondence he maintained throughout the period of reorganization. Abraham Jarvis and Jeremiah Leaming of Connecticut had serious disagreements with White but they continued to correspond. Samuel Parker, rector of Christ Church, Boston proved instrumental in resolving the points of difference between White and the Connecticut clergy. In time Samuel Seabury and Thomas B. Chandler were among White's correspondents.[62] Through the exchange of information, ideas, and opinions the various leaders of the church came to understand each other, and in time they agreed on a plan to reorganize their separated churches.

By the time the Peace of Paris was signed in September, 1783, the former Anglicans in America had a plan for reorganization. Many of the local churches had had some experience in self-government in the colonial period, but none of the Anglican churches had previously organized districts or conventions. In 1783, it was essential for the churches to organize in order to meet the challenge resulting from independence. The clergy and laity were more dependent than ever upon each other, and they had to work together to meet a drastically altered ecclesiastical environment. Whether the former Anglicans could make the switch from partial dependence upon England and, in some colonies, local establishments, to an independent and self-governing denomination remained to be seen. The first steps toward this goal were taken in 1783.

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[62] William S. Perry, Half Century of Legislation of the American Church (3 vols.; Claremont: New Hampshire, 1784), III, pp. 72-75.

CHAPTER VIII

ECCLESIASTICAL REORGANIZATION

The reorganization of the former Anglican churches in 1783 depended upon the willingness of the clergy and laity to cooperate. The clergy and churches were free from any form of control formerly exercised by the Bishop of London and the English ecclesiastical hierarchy. Those parishes and ministers who had been controlled by the state legislature because of their legal establishment were all placed on their own by 1784. If all the churches, clergy, and laity worked together, state and national union was possible. But the unwillingness of a few churches in a state to cooperate in reorganization could frustrate unity at the state level. Also a state ecclesiastical organization that was unwilling to cooperate with the other state conventions could delay, or even defeat, a plan for national union. Until uniformity was achieved on the state and national levels, a congregation, vestry, or minister might revise the liturgy, alter the vestry type of local church government, and even reject the traditions of the Church of England.[1] No area of the church's reorganization was more uncertain than the issue of episopacy. The English bishops could no longer directly encourage the establishment of an American episcopate, nor could they even provide regular ordinations. If a bishop for America was procured, it would have to be initiated by the American churchmen with the understanding that they could define, modify, and adjust the episcopal office to meet the situation in America.

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[1] Salomon (ed.), White, The Case, p. 22.

White in The Case proposed that churches unite on a district level and elect representatives to a state convention. In turn the state conventions would elect delegates to a national convention.[2] This principle of representation was generally followed in the Episcopal state conventions that reorganized in 1783, 1784, and 1785. Really this was a far different approach to church government from that which the colonial Anglican church had known. The major decisions affecting the local churches now were made by clergy and lay representatives of the local parishes and vestries, not the Bishop of London or the state legislature. There was no longer an outside authority, foreign or local, which could overrule the representative assemblies. In the colonial period the best the clergy could do was to meet in convention and recommend to the Bishop of London or the legislature, while the congregation rarely had a voice except in the selection of a minister.

The first group of Anglicans to take steps toward reorganization met at Chestertown, Maryland, on November 9, 1780. There were three clergymen and twenty-four laymen in attendance. A petition was prepared for the Maryland General Assembly requesting public support for religion. This petition was not granted. But the Chestertown meeting took another action which had far reaching results. It adopted the name "Protestant Episcopal Church" to identify the former Anglican churches in Maryland, though the name was not used officially until 1783.[3] The Maryland Anglicans met again in Chestertown in 1781, but no records of this gathering have survived. In 1782 a third meeting was held in Baltimore; no significant action was recorded.[4]

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[2] Ibid., p. 26.

At the commencement exercises of Washington College, Chestertown, May 12 to 15, 1783, the few Anglican ministers present decided to petition the General Assembly for permission to make changes in the liturgy and provision for the continuation of the ministry. This request was granted and a meeting was called for August 13, 1783 in Annapolis. William Smith was elected president and Thomas Gates, rector of Saint Anne's, Arundel County, was secretary. A Declaration of Certain Fundamental Rights was prepared which listed in four articles the position of the Maryland clergy. First, the clergy claimed the right to possess and use the Protestant Episcopal churches independent of any foreign or local ecclesiastical authority. Second, the three orders of ministers, deacon, priest, and bishop, were affirmed, and the requirement of episcopal ordination for ministerial orders was stated. Third, no other clergy except those episcopally ordained were to be admitted into the churches formerly belonging to the Church of England. The group then claimed the right to meet in synod or convention, consisting of clergy and laymen, to reorganize the churches, revise or alter the liturgy, prayers, and order of worship. Then Smith was elected bishop by the fifteen clergy present, and testimonials to the Bishop of London were prepared. The convention authorized two committees of three clergymen each to serve, one on the Eastern and one on the Western shore, to interview and examine candidates for ordination and supply the vacant parishes with lay readers.[5]

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[3] Protestant Episcopal Church Conventions in Maryland of 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783. No date or printer given, p. 146.

[4] Ibid., p. 147.

The Declaration formulated in August 1783 expressed a serious concern in articles two and three that no clergyman be admitted into a Maryland parish who was not episcopally ordained. There is no evidence that a clergyman ordained in the non-episcopal tradition was accepted by a local vestry in Maryland, but the paucity of Episcopal clergymen naturally forced the local vestries to look elsewhere for ministerial services. Furthermore, the disestablished Anglican churches were free to employ anyone they deemed proper in 1783, and at the meeting of clergy at Chestertown they were obviously afraid the churches would exercise their prerogative. In Providence, Rhode Island, the vestry of King's Chapel temporarily employed a Baptist minister in 1782 in the absence of an Anglican minister and tried to keep him, but he did not decided to stay.[6] This was an isolated incident, but it illustrates the type of authority each local vestry had and the use they could make of it. If this had happened in a number of churches, the pattern of reorganization in the 1780's would have been influenced by it, and probably any plan to procure a bishop would have been further down-graded. The Maryland Episcopal clergy were determined to monopolize control of the church appointments and keep out those who would interfer with their plans. This partly explains the haste with which they elected Smith bishop and prepared to send him to the Bishop of London. The two committeess which the clergy established to handle prospective ministers was a bold attempt to keep control of the ministerial office, and to regulate what laymen were fit to serve as lay readers.[7]

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[5] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, pp. 23-24.

William Smith was the most widely known and influential clergyman at the 1783 convention. He moved to Chestertown, Maryland, in 1780 after the Pennsylvania legislature had confiscated the lands and rights of the College of Philadelphia. Smith was elected rector of Saint Paul's in Chester Parish, Kent County, which congregation he served until 1789, when he returned to Philadelphia. In this pastorate he took over the Kenty County School and within the space of two years he planned and organized George Washington College, later renamed Washington College.[8] At the same time Smith became a dominant figure among the clergy. As early as 1780 he consulted with Maryland churchmen about the future of their church. The 1783 Annapolis convention was the result of two years of formal and informal approaches to the clergy and laity.[9]

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[6] Stowe, "A Study in Conscience", HMPEC, XIX, p. 308.

[7] Notices and Journals, and Remains of Journals of the Two Preliminary Conventions of the Clergy, and of the First Five Annual Conventions and Two Adjourned Conventions of the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maryland, in the Years 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788. No date or publisher given. pp. 5-7.

Of the fifteen clergy present at Annapolis in August, 1783, eight had been active in Maryland during the episcopal controversy of the 1760's and 1770's. None of the eight had campaigned for the episcopal scheme.[10] John Gordon, rector of Saint Michael Parish, Talbot County, 1749 to 1790, opposed the scheme and advised Walter Dulany that many of the clergy felt as he did. Gordon was present at the 1783 convention, but the three staunchest advocates of episcopacy - Jonathan Boucher, Henry Addison, and Bennett Allen - had long ago fled to England.[11] Thus the election of William Smith as bishop testified to his personal power of persuasion. Perhaps he feared White's suggestion that a temporary departure from episcopacy was justifiable. It is possible an alternate type of church power might have been acceptable to too many; therefore, Smith moved quickly to thwart any such effort. By 1783, Smith had altered his prewar position that a commissary was better suited to the American churches than a bishop, for he put his full weight behind an episcopal scheme. But the failure of the fifteen clergy who elected Smith to consult the laity was a serious mistake. None of the Anglican laity in colonial Maryland had indicated a desire for a bishop, and many had opposed it. The assumption that the laity had changed their mind or would remain silent was unwarranted.

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[8] Rightmyer, Maryland's Established Church, Biographical Index, p. 213.

[9] Ibid., pp. 122-123.

[10] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 25 and Rightmyer, Maryland's Established Church, Biographical Index, pp. 151-221.

[11] Rightmyer, Maryland's Established Church, Biographical Index, pp. 155-221.

A copy of the Declaration of Certain Fundamental Rights was forwarded to Governor William Paca with a request for the sanction of the legislature.[12] Paca reviewed the Declaration, which claimed the right for the Protestant Episcopal Church to complete and preserve itself, establish three orders of clergy (bishops, priests, and deacons), hold church property formerly belonging to the Church of England, and meet in synod or convention to order church business. The Governor's reaction was objective and impartial, for he replied:

> as every denomination of clergy are to be deemed adequate judges of their own spiritual rights... it would be a very partial and unjust distinction to deny that right to the respectable and learned body of the Episcopal clergy in this state; and it will give me the highest happiness and satisfaction, if, either in my individual capacity, or in the public character which I now have the honor to sustain, I can be instrumental in...placing every branch of the Christian Church in this State, upon the most equal and respectable footing.[13]

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[12] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 25.

[13] Ibid., pp. 26-27

If Smith and his associates expected preferential treatment, they were rudely awakened by Paca's reply. The days were gone when governor, council, and assembly could aid one church and not another. It must have been a letdown for certain churchmen to discover they were one among equals in the eyes of the state. After more than seventy years of church and state union between the colonial government and the Anglican church, Paca's statement was final evidence of the ecclesiastical revolution that had taken place in church and state relations.

If Paca's reaction to the request for legislative sanction for the Protestant Episcopal Church was shocking, his personal opinion about episcopacy was profoundly unnerving to Smith. Paca had been a student under Smith at the College of Philadelphia, but this did not soften his opposition to episcopacy. Governor Paca expressed his position on episcopacy in a letter to General Reed of Pennsylvania. He wrote,

> As to their proceedings, they can be viewed in no other light than the private opinion and sentiment of so many clergymen of such a church . . .As to your first question I answer and say for myself the Episcopalian clergy shall not represent our Episcopal Church independently of the laity....The clergy may assemble and propose but the laity must adopt or consent. I hope it has not been represented that I have recommended any particular person for Bishop or President. I

> can assure you I never did: for I am one of those who think a Bishop unnecessary.[14]

It is obvious that the August, 1783, convention provoked a hornets' nest of lay opposition to its authoritarian procedure and its precipitant action in electing Smith bishop. Paca did not reveal how many laymen acquaintances felt that bishops were unnecessary, but a few powerful laymen like him could defeat any pro-episcopal plan. In 1771 Paca and Samuel Chase had forcefully opposed their minister, Jonathan Boucher, in his pro-episcopal activities. It became so hot for Boucher in Queen Anne's parish that he hired a curate, Walter H. Harrison, and retired to a quieter place.[15] The laymen who were given the trusteeship of church property by the Vestry Act of 1779 were not about to have a bishop imposed upon them. Now they directly provided the financial support for all the Episcopal churches and clergy. Paca and his sympathizers were not about to permit the clergy to have a superior role in church reorganization while the laymen paid the bills. The laymen were determined to have equal power in any new ecclesiastical organization in Maryland.

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[14] William Paca to Jacob Reed, 12 September 1783. Walter H. Stowe, "The State or Diocesan Conventions of the War and Post-War Periods," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, VIII (September 1939), pp. 232-233. Francis L. Hawks, Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States of America, II, pp. 290-291, records that the state assembly was about to appoint ordainers to carry on the ministry in 1779, but the Reverend Samuel Keene persuaded them not to enact this idea. Since no collaborating evidence is available to support Hawks' statement, Rightmyer has dismissed it as unfounded.

[15] Rightmyer, Maryland's Established Church, Biographical Index, p. 163.

The Maryland convention's Declaration of Fundamental Rights and Liberties of 1783 used the name "Protestant Episcopal Church" for the first time officially to identify the former Anglican churches.[16] Eventually this name was accepted by the General Convention as the name for the denomination. The term "Protestant Episcopalians" had been used as early as 1664 to describe the Maryland churchmen. It was also used in seventeenth century England to distinguish between "Roman" Episcopalians and "non-espiscopalian" Protestants.[17] It is obvious the word "Protestant" was used in 1783 to distinguish the denomination from the Roman Catholic Church. The word "episcopal" emphasized the principal tenant of their ecclesiastical polity. "Church" must have been used rather optimistically because in 1783 there were only Episcopal churches, for no state or national convention or diocese had been formed.

The 1783 convention adjourned until the meeting of the state General Assembly and did not reconvene until June 22, 1784. In the meantime the president was to invite the parishes or vestries to send lay delegates to this convention.[18] When the convention was formed, the lay delegates requested permission to retire and discuss the Declaration privately. The laity approved the Declaration, but they appointed a committee which recommended four additional articles. First, any clergyman ordained bishop, priest, or deacon in any foreign state was forbidden to take an oath or obligation to any foreign power, civil or ecclesiastical. Second, a bishop's authority was defined as the right to ordain, confirm, and serve as president of ecclesiastical meetings, and any alteration in this provision required the action of the convention. Third, the training, examining, and recommending of clergy was left to the clergy, but the acceptance of a minister into a parish was reserved exclusively for the people who supported him. Fourth, it was determined that every parish was entitled to a representation of one clergyman and one layman at all future conventions, and any change in these rules required a two-thirds vote of the convention.[19] The clergy acquiesced to these articles.

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[16] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 22.

[17] Rightmyer, Maryland's Established Church, p. 123.

[18] Perry, Half-Century of Legislation, p. 29.

If William Smith had hoped for swift consecration as a bishop, the action of the 1784 convention shattered it. The laity did not nullify his election, but they did define the terms under which a bishop could serve in Maryland.[20] The prohibition against any oath or obligation to a foreign power, civil or ecclesiastical, ruled out the possibility of consecration in England, where an oath of allegiance to the King was still required. Obviously the Maryland Episcopalians did not expect a bishop in their state in the near future. No action was taken to provide for financial support for a bishop, nor were funds solicited for Smith's trip to seek consecration. The question whether a bishop would serve a parish or not remained unanswered. Besides, there is no evidence the laity added their recommendation to the clergy's to give Smith added support in his search for consecration. The laity left little room for doubt about their attitude toward episcopacy in 1784.

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[19] Notices and Journals - Maryland, pp. 10-11.

[20] Ibid., p. 11.

William West, rector of Saint Paul's, Baltimore and secretary of the 1784 Annapolis convention, described the proceedings to William White:

> I conceive it not only prudent, but even necessary that lay members be delegated by the people for the purpose and that they concur with the clergy. As to the useage of the primitive church with respect to the election of Bishops I need not mention to you that it is difficult to speak positively. The approbation of the Laity, tho' desirable, was not I believe necessary. . . . Yet still the approbation of the laity would have its one effect for the encouragement and support of a Bishop.[21]

West appeared relieved by the inclusion of the laity in the convention and he did not resent their additions to the Declaration. Evidently West realized the American Episcopalian church or the Church of England. It was his conviction that the church must accept these changed conditions if it expected to expand. He personally favored the reorganization of the church with or without a bishop present. The representative convention was readily accepted as the proper authority in matters of religion.

William White took the initiative in the reorganization of the Episcopal churches in Pennsylvania. His approach was far different from William Smith's. White, on March 29, 1784, conferred with Samuel Magraw, rector of Saint Paul's, Philadelphia, on the need to reorganize the churches.[22] Next the two ministers requested their respective vestries to appoint lay representatives to meet with them to discuss the problem. This group immediately informed all the Episcopal congregations in the state and invited them to send delegates to a meeting scheduled for May 24, 1784, in Christ Church.[23] Four clergy and nineteen laymen attended this first formal meeting. This was the first duly authorized ecclesiastical assembly of Episcopalians in America at which laymen were officially a part.[24]

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[21] William West to William White, 5 July 1784. The Eathan Allen Collection, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

White was elected president and William Pollard, a laymen, clerk. A committee on correspondence was authorized to write the Episcopal churches in other states and cooperate with them in framing a general ecclesiastical constitution. A set of six Fundamental Principles was produced and adopted. The first article declared the Episcopal Church in these states free and independent. The right to regulate the concerns of the communion was claimed for the churches. The desire to remain as close as possible to the Church of England in matters of doctrine and worship was expressed. The three orders of the clergy were affirmed; bishops, priests, and deacons, but the rights and powers of the respective orders would be determined by a convention. A convention of clergy and laymen was the only authority which could make laws and canons for the church. Lastly, no power was delegated to a general ecclesiastical government which a local congregation or vestry could exercise.[25]

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[22] Perry, Half-Century of Legislation, p. 35.

[23] Ibid., p. 36.

[24] Ibid., p. 39.

The Declaration of Maryland and the Fundamental Principles of Pennsylvania are essentially the same in their first four articles. The fifth and sixth articles of Pennsylvania, which established the convention as final authority and safeguarded the right of the local vestry, were added to the Maryland Declaration by the laymen in June, 1784.[26] But these two articles were only added after the laity asserted its power and forced these issues. These two documents, however, differed on the requirement for episcopal ordination becaise the Declaration required it, but the Fundamental Principles did not.[27] Whether the Pennsylvania Episcopalians assumed all its clergy would be episcopally ordained or whether they were leaving the subject open for future decision is not apparent. In The Case White had recognized ordinations other than episcopal ones as true and valid. It is likely the subject was left for future discussion because Pennsylvania did not elect a bishop in 1784, nor was there any indication a bishop would be consecrated in the near future for Pennsylvania.[28]

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[25] Convention Journals of Pennsylvania 1785-1814. No date or publisher given., p. 6.

[26] Perry, Half-Century of Legislation, p. 31.

[27] Ibid., pp. 24 and 38-39.

[28] Conventions Journals of Pennsylvania 1785-1814. No date or publisher given., p. 6.

The major difference between the Maryland and Pennsylvania approaches to reorganization was that William Smith and his fellow clergy antagonized the laity by taking too much authority to themselves, while White cultivated the laity and won their support. White's viewpoint was to organize the Episcopal churches on a local, state, and national basis first and then consider the episcopal problem. Smith thought otherwise and personally paid for it; he was never consecrated bishop.[29] If anyone had made a precipitant move toward episcopacy in Pennsylvania in 1784, he too would have met stiff resistance. White opposed discussing the issue at that time because he believed the churches had not had time enough to regain their equilibrium after the shock of seven war years.

The results of the Pennsylvania convention were forwarded to Samuel Parker, rector of Trinity Church, Boston.[30] Parker had replaced Henry Caner as the leading Anglican clergyman in Massachusetts after Caner's flight early in the war. Both Parker and the vestry or Trinity Church were in sympathy with the Revolution. Together they eliminated the objectionable prayers from the liturgy and kept the church open throughout the war.[31] After examining Pennsylvania's Fundamental Principles, Parker wanted to know whether it was intended as a national plan or a state plan. Then he added, "is it meant to carry the Independence so far as to exclude the obtaining a Bishop from England?"[32] Parker detected immediately an absence of concern over the episcopate on the part of the Pennsylvanians. It was apparent to him that the plan had merit and was a sound approach which he later recommended to Massachusetts, but the one point which was not clarified was the office of a bishop.

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[29] Rightmyer, Maryland's Established Church, p. 131.

[30] Perry, Half-Century of Legislation, p. 57.

[31] Manross, op. cit., p. 176.

White's reply to Parker on August 10, 1784, answered his questions. The Fundamental Principles were intended as guidelines for Pennsylvania and other state or national conventions. On the subject of independence White felt the separation between the Church of England and American Episcopalians was complete and final, but this should not prevent the procurement of a bishop, provided he became a citizen of the United States. White did not inform Parker of Smith's election in Maryland nor of the opposition which resulted. He postponed consideration by saying "proper measures for procuring an Episcopate we wish to see taken at the ensuing meeting in New York."[33] The meeting to which White referred was a first attempt to get delegates from several states to meet and prepare a general constitution. In postponing the issue White did not encourage the Massachusetts clergy to develop an episcopal scheme of their own. His reply was simply a polite way of deferring an issue White knew would cause controversy.

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[32] Samuel Parker to William White, 21 June 1784. Perry, Half-Century of Legislation, pp. 57-59.

[33] White to Parker, 10 August 1784. Ibid., pp. 61-62.

The Episcopal clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island assembled in Boston on September 8, 1784. Parker was selected president and John Graves secretary.[34] By convention action the Fundamental Principles were adopted with only two modifications. Article one was altered to encourage the procurement of a bishop. Article five was amended to equalize the voting power of the clergy and laity. The new article read, "the laity ought not to exceed or their votes be more in number than those of the clergy."[35] The Massachusetts clergy were fully in favor of lay participation in church conventions, but they did not want a lay dominated church. Rather than deprive a church of one lay and one clerical vote at future conventions, it was recommended that churches without ministers confer their clerical vote upon a neighboring minister who would cast it for the church. The Massachusetts convention returned White"s courtesy by sending him a copy of their transactions with a request he share it with the churches to the south. Then it was added, "it is our unanimous opinion that it is beginning at the wrong end to attempt to organize our church before we have obtained a head."[36] But the Episcopal clergy of Massachusetts and Rhode Island did not elect one of their number bishop. They believed in the principle of episcopal ordination, but were unprepared or unwilling to assume the responsibility themselves.

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[34] Ibid., p. 64.

[35] Ibid., pp. 62-63.

[36] Ibid., p. 65.

Thus by the end of 1784 Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts had taken initial steps toward state organizations. In 1785 Virginia, New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina took similar steps. All four of these states followed the example of Pennsylvania. The laity were invited to participate, and inall of these states they outnumbered the clergy. Not one of these states elected a bishop or expressed a desire to procure one in 1785. Instead they recognized bishops as a third order of clergy and a part of their church tradition, but the convention was recognized as the authoritative agent in church affairs. If and when a bishop was procured he would serve at the direction of the convention, and not direct or control the laity and clergy.

The Virginia convention met in Richmond from May 18 to 25, 1785. There were sixty-five laymen and thirty-six clergy. The Reverend James Madison, President of William and Mary College, was elected president of the convention, and Robert Andrews, rector of York Hampton Parish, secretary. Although Madison was president of the convention, Carter Braxton, a layman from Saint John Parish, served as chairman at least seven times during the convention.[37] The astute parliamentary maneuver used to place Braxton in the chair was simple. The laymen outnumbered the clergy almost two to one. Someone moved that the convention resolve itself into a committee of the whole and the motion was carried. The committee of the whole selected its own chairman while considering a given issue. Thus Madison could only exercise the powers of his presidency when the laity permitted it. The convention remained firmly under lay control, though traditional courtesies were extended to the clergy.

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[37] Francis L. Hawks, Ecclesiastical Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States of America; Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Virginia, 1785 to 1835 (2 vols.; New York; Harper and Brothers, 1836), I, Appendix, pp. 1-11.

This convention adopted forty-three _Rules for the Order, Government, and Discipline of the Protestand Episcopal Church_ in Virginia. Eight of these articles had a direct bearing on the issie of episcopacy. Bishops were recognized as a third order of clergy, but their office was no different from that of any other minister except for the performance of ordination, confirmation, visitation of clergy, and presidency of ecclesiastical assemblies. Six articles defined further the status and place of a bishop. A bishop could only be nominated in the convention and he had to continue to serve a parish after his election. A bishop charged with misconduct was subject to the judgment of the convention. Accusations against a bishop must originate from the vestries. On the other hand a bishop could reprove or discipline another clergyman as far as the rules of the church permitted, but only the convention could suspend or dismiss.[38]

The Virginia Episcopalians did more to define and control the office of a bishop than any other state convention in 1783, 1784, or 1785. Why? First, this was a natural reaction for the state which resisted most forcefully the episcopal scheme of Johnson and Chandler in the 1760's and 1770's. Their attitude toward episcopacy was not improved by the war. The laymen, who had had almost complete control of the colonial Anglican church in Virginia, were not ready to have their position usurped by a bishop in the Protestant Episcopal Church. Then there was a possibility the other state conventions would expect Virginia to take the lead in securing a bishop, since she had the largest number of clergy and churches and potentially the widest and largest foundation to support a bishop. The Virginians were well prepared in case the forthcoming General Convention scheduled for October, 1785 made such a request.

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[38] _Ibid._, pp. 8-11.

In 1785 there was little or no chance of a pro-episcopal campaign in Virginia, and there was no unusual concern over the ministerial shortage because men could not receive episcopal ordination. The leaders of the episcopal scheme in the 1760's and 1770's had long since left Virginia. James Horrocks departed at the height of the controversy in 1771; William Willie and John Camm, who continued the struggle after Horrocks' departure, themselves fled as Loyalists at the outset of the war.[39] Furthermore, the convention showed its lack of concern over the ministerial shortage when it did not accept an offer from the Danish Church to ordain ministers episcopally for the American churches and possibly a bishop.[40] The offer originated as a result of a discussion about the ministerial needs of the Protestant Episcopal churches between John Adams, American Minister to England, and M. de St. Saphorin, Danish Minister to England. Adams relayed the Danish offer to Richard H. Lee, who sent it to the Virginia Episcopal convention via Patrick Henry, the governor.[41] The Virginians heard the offer read, postponed discussion of it, and eventually referred it to the General Convention in September, 1785.[42]

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[39] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, P. 342.

[40] Hawks, Ecclesiastical Contributions, I, Appendix, P. 8.

The Danish offer of episcopal ordinations was indirectly the result of Mason Locke Weems and Edward Gnatt's efforts to secure ordination in England. After the English bishops had refused their request, Weems and Gnatt shared their problem with John Adams. Adams casually asked the Danish Minister whether the state church of Denmark could assist the Protestant Episcopal churches by conferring ordination on Weems and Gnatt.[43] The favorable reply Adams received was forwarded to William White as well as Richard H. Lee.[44] Without waiting for a General Convention, White courteously declined the offer and addid, "I take it to be a general sentiment, not to depend on any foreign authority for the ordination of ministers, or for any other matters appertaining to religion."[45] White evidently still believed the prevailing sentiment among

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[41] Ibid., p. 8.

[42] Ibid., p. 8.

[43] John Adams to Richard H. Lee, 22 April 1784. White, Memoirs, Appendix, p. 275.

[44] Ibid., p. 276.

[45] Ibid., p. 277.

Episcopalians favored a temporary departure from Episcopal ordinations rather than an acceptance of the Danish or any other offer. Furthermore, White's reply vividly illustrates the determination of the American churchmen to decide for themselves matters of church polity. Thus, the first opportunity the Episcopalians had to secure episcopal ordinations and possibly a bishop was politely, but definitely, refused and the General Convention of September, 1785 did not reverse White's unofficial reply.

On June 22, 1785 a convention of five clergy and eleven laymen assembled in New York. This body was more flexible in its attitude toward reorganization than any previous convention. In essence it simply instructed the three clergy and three lay delegates to cooperate in whatever way possible in the forthcoming General Convention for the welfare of the church.[46] At this time the New York delegates favored the Fundamental Principles of Pennsylvania, but they were ready to work out any differences that existed among other delegates. Apparently the convention was sure the first General Convention would decide matters in a way satisfactory to them. Unlike Massachusetts, New York did not commit itself for or against episcopacy at this time. Instead the convention's actions give evidence the representatives strongly favored reorganization first before considering an episcopate. The next state convention would meet to discuss church matters and General Convention actions at the call of the president, Samuel Provoost, rector of Trinity Church.[47]

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[46] Proceedings of the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York, 1785-1791 (New York: Hugh Gaine, 1791), pp. 3-4.

The New Jersey Episcopalians held their first state convention on July 6, 1785, with three clergy and fourteen laymen in attendance.[48] Abraham Beach was elected president and Uzal Ogden secretary. Here as in New York the clergyman-elected president had not been active in the pro-episcopal campaign of the 1760's. No action was taken on the subject of episcopacy. The convention felt it was important for the church to organize on a national level and elected four clergymen and ten laymen to represent them. The delegates were given freedom to approve what they deemed necessary to unite the church. Unlike New York, New Jersey set its next meeting for May, 1786, at Burlington.

One act of the New Jersey convention was filled with potential controversy. Thomas B. Chandler, the pre-war champion of the pro-episcopal scheme, had returned to his former home and church, Saint John's of Elizabethtown, in June, 1785. The convention selected Chandler as a clerical delegate to represent them at the forthcoming General Convention in October at Philadelphia.[49] Chandler was not present at the state convention, but it is likely he was elected because of his twenty-five years of service in New Jersey. If Chandler accepted the election and attended the General Convention, he certainly would meet his pre-war antagonist, William Smith. The laymen who actively or passively resisted the Johnson-Chandler episcopal scheme in the 1760's were now in a position of power to approve or disapprove any issue. Chandler's presence at the convention would remind many of the extensive and bitter internal conflict over episcopacy the Anglican church had endured only fifteen years earlier. If the episcopal issue were introduced directly into the General Convention, it was possible the resistance of the 1760's would erupt again with as much or more force.

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[47] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[48] Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of New Jersey, 1785-1816 (New York: John Polhemus, 1890), pp. 3-4.

[49] Ibid., p. 4.

In one other state the Episcopalians assembled delegates and started on the road to reorganization in 1785. Three clergymen and ten laymen met in Saint Philip's Church, Charleston on July 12, 1785. A layman, Hugh Rutledge, chaired the meeting. A delegation of five deputies was chosen to represent South Carolina at the General Convention in Philadelphia. There was one clergyman, Robert Smith, and four laymen, Jacob Read, Charles Pickney, John Bull, and John Kean, i the delegation. South Carolina had no intention of letting the clergy gain the upper hand in the state or national convention.[50] Furthermore, the resistance to episcopacy was so strong among South Carolina Episcopalians that Robert Smith, rector of Saint Philip's, had to promise "there was to be no bishop settled in that state" before the convention would select a delegation to go to Philadelphia.[51]

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[50] Frederick Dalcho, An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina (Charleston: E. Thayer, 1820), p. 465.

William White had attempted to reach the Episcopalians in North Carolina in 1784 in the hope they too would begin reorganization and cooperate in a national convention. White's letter went astray, for David Griffith, rector of Fairfax Parish, informed White in July, 1784, that none of the Virginia clergy had heard from their North Carolina brethren on the matter of reorganization.[52] Actually it was June 5, 1790, before any convention of the Episcopalians in North Carolina began the process of reorganization at Tawborough. There were only two clergy and two laymen present, but they elected Charles Pettigrew, rector at Edenton, chairman and adopted six articles which closely paralleled the Fundamental Principles of Pennsylvania.[53] On November 12, 1790, delegates were elected to attend the next General Convention. The Episcopalians in Georgia were still later in reviving their church, for as late as 1793 only one church, Christ Church, Savannah, was functioning. It was 1832 before Georgia was sufficiently organized to conduct her own church affairs.[54]

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[51] Perry, Half-Century of Legislation, pp. 52-53.

[52] David Griffith to William White, 26 July 1784, Ibid., p.46.

[53] Joseph B. Cheshire, Jr. The Early Conventions: Held at Tawborough, 1790, 1793, 1794 (Raleigh: Spirit of the Age Print, 1882), pp. 10-13.

[54] Henry T. Malone, The Episcopal Church in Georgia 1733-1957 (Atlanta: The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Atlanta, 1960), p. 53.

The period 1783 to 1785 witnessed a number of measured steps in the direction of church reorganization. The clergy in the various colonies had begun to communicate and cooperate with each other by sharing their ideas and opinions. The laity quickly assumed its place as a major factor in all phases of church life and very few clergymen denied the necessity of their participation. The vast majority of the clergy and laity felt the church needed organization before it needed bishops. By July 1785 it appeared a continued "low-pressure" approach would soon bring about the union of all the former Anglican churches in America. There was still one question which had not been resolved. Serious opposition to bishops had appeared in Maryland, Virginia was passively resistant to episcopacy, and the other Episcopal state conventions had shown only nominal interest in procuring bishops. Unless stronger pro-episcopal interest was generated, the Protestant Episcopal churches would reorganize without their chief ecclesiastical official.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONNECTICUT SCHEME

Anglican ecclesiastical reorganization in the states from New York to South Carolina was conducted openly in conventions of clergy and laymen, minutes were kept, and the local churches informed of the results. In only one of these states, Maryland, was a plan to procure a bishop devised, but this plan was checked by the laity. Even the Massachusetts Episcopal clergy, who favored procuring a bishop before state conventions were organized, met publicly and shared their ideas with William White and the clergy to the south. In contrast to the general pattern, the Episcopal clergy of Connecticut met secretly, adopted a plan to obtain a bishop, and informed only a few well-known pro-episcopal clergy in New York who were waiting for transportation to England after the war.[1] It was more than a year before the rest of the Episcopalians learned of Connecticut's scheme and determined what attitude they would take toward a bishop in Connecticut.[2]

The Episcopal clergymen in Connecticut met in the home of John Rutgers Marshall, rector of Saint Paul's Church, Woodbury, on March 25, 1783. Abraham Jarvis, Daniel Fogg, and John R. Marshall were present, but no list of the other seven participants has survived, nor is it possible to determine which of the fourteen Episcopal clergymen in Connecticut were absent.[3] The only known facts are revealed in the correspondence of Fogg, who broke his obligation of secrecy by informing Samuel Parker of the meeting in July, 1783. The rest of the Episcopal clergy were not alerted to the scheme until May, 1784. Not even the leading laymen of the Connecticut churches were informed or consulted about the scheme for "fear of opposition, and perhaps the fear of not having the hearty concurrence of their lay brethren."[4] Abraham Jarvis, minister at Middletown and secretary of the meeting, knew that there was passive resistance toward episcopacy on the part of the laity because he had been active in the pro-episcopal campaign in the 1760's. When Samuel Parker objected to the secrecy of Connecticut's transactions, Fogg defended it by asserting that there had not been time enough to consult the outside Episcopal clergy.[5]

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[1] William J. Seabury, Memoirs of Bishop Seabury (New York: Edwin S. Gorham, 1908), p. 185.

[2] White, Memoirs, p. 22.

The ten zealous Connecticut clergy had one objective in mind on March 25, 1783: a bishop. In their view, the Episcopal churches could not organize properly until they first had a bishop because it was his prerogative to guide the churches. To procure a bishop after the churches were organized would minimize his importance and possibly limit his powers. The first man selected bishop was Jeremiah Leaming, rector of Saint Paul's Church, Norwalk, Connecticut, from 1758 to 1779 and a refugee in New York in 1783, but he declined the position because of age and poor health.[6] There are several reasons why Leaming was the first choice. He was a native of Connecticut, a convert to Anglicanism under Samuel Johnson, and an advocate of a colonial episcopate in the 1760's. Although Leaming had been a Loyalist in the early years of the Revolution, he later showed sympathy for the American cause, deleted the prayers for the king from the church liturgy, and reopened his church. Leaming was once jailed for his suspected Loyalism, and his property was confiscated, but he did not denounce the Revolution nor flee America.[7]

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[3] Seabury, Memoirs, p. 180.

[4] Eben E. Beardsley, Life and Correspondence of the Right Reverend Samuel Seabury, D.D. (Boston, 1881), p. 78.

[5] Daniel Fogg to Samuel Parker, 1 August 1783. Ibid., p. 105.

The meeting next selected as bishop Samuel Seabury, a refugee in New York.[8] Seabury's fervor in the pro-episcopal cause in the 1760's was second only to Chandler's, and his advocacy of the British cause during the war qualified him as the most outspoken Loyalist among the Anglican clergy. Daniel Fogg raised an objection to Seabury's selection as bishop at the 1783 meeting on this very point, but a majority did not agree with him.[9] Instead, the meeting felt that Seabury at fifty-five had the vigor, capacity, and determination to seek episcopal consecration and succeed. The ten clergy hoped Seabury would receive consecration in England, but in case he failed there, he was encouraged to go to Scotland. In the event a controversy erupted in America, the group hoped Seabury would settle in Halifax, Nova Scotia, from whence he could ordain prospective ministers for the Episcopal churches and perhaps pay an occasional visit to administer confirmation and dedicate new churches.[10]

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[6] Ibid., p. 78.

[7] DAB, XI, pp. 74-75.

[8] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 78.

No doubt Seabury, Leaming, and Jarvis avoided informing their closest friends of the laity because they anticipated opposition. Perhaps they remembered that two leading laymen in pre-war Connecticut, Godfrey Malbone and William S. Johnson, gave no support to the episcopal plan. Johnson was still a leading layman who resided in Stratford, but the clergy did not confer with him.[11] This was a bold step, for the clergy must have realized that the S.P.G. would sooner or later have to withdraw their financial support, and then they would be completely dependent on the laity for their support. In contrast, the members of the Woodbury meeting the next day informed the clergy in New York City who previously favored bishops. All the clergy who were advised of the plan had been proponents of a colonial episcopate, and most of them soon left for England because of their Loyalist convictions. Charles Inglis and Henry Addison were the two most prominent members of this group.[12]

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[9] Daniel Fogg to Samuel Parker, 1 August 1783. Ibid., p. 105.

[10] Ibid., p. 105.

[11] Groce, op. cit., p. 153.

Abraham Jarvis expressed the Connecticut clergy's opposition to White's The Case in a letter dated March 25, 1783. He made it perfectly clear that in Connecticut's view "episcopal superiority is an ordinance of Christ;" therefore, it was a most serious infraction of divine truth to depreciate the importance of bishops.[13] Furthermore, the ten clergy who constituted Connecticut's Episcopal organization had no intention of permitting the laity to sit with them to decide matters of organization, faith, and practice. Although Jarvis did not admit it until April, 1783, White's The Case and the fear of its general acceptance prompted the Connecticut Episcopal clergy to act secretly and independently.[14] They believed that unless they acted quickly and decisively, the American Episcopal churches would organize on a basis of state and national conventions, but with no bishop. To head off these innovations the Connecticut clergy acted first. On April 23, 1783, a meeting of Episcopal clergy in New York prepared a letter of application for Seabury's consecration to the Archbishop of York, William Markham, who was the leading bishop in England after the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Frederick Cornwallis, on March 19, 1783.[15] A testimonial of Seabury's character and qualifications was prepared in May, 1783, by Charles Inglis, Jeremiah Leaming, and Benjamin Moore.[16] With these credentials in his possession Seabury arrived in England on July 7, 1783.[17]

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[12] John W. Lydekker (ed.), The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis 1759 to 1787 (London: S.P.G., 1936), p. 219.

[13] Abraham Jarvis to William White, 25 March 1783. Salomon (ed.), William White, The Case, p. 50.

[14] Abraham Jarvis to Archbishop William Markham, 24 May 1783. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 87.

The main theme of the documents Seabury carried to England emphasized that unless bishops were quickly introduced into America it would become impossible to do so in the future. The basis for this position was basically the conviction that the American Episcopalians would find a substitute for bishops.

> If it [bishops] be now any longer neglected, there is reason to apprehend that a plan of a very extraordinary nature, lately formed and published in Philadelphia, may be carried into execution. This plan is, in brief, to constitute a nominal Episcopate by the united suffrages of presbyters and laymen. . . .We think it our duty to reject such a spurious substitute for Episcopacy, and, as far as may be in our power, to prevent its taking effect.[18]

The Connecticut clergy indirectly admitted that White's proposals provoked them to seek a bishop first, but they also gave the impression they were a minority group. Furthermore, it is surprising that they applied for episcopal consecration in April although formal peace was not achieved until September, 1783.[19]

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[15] DNB, XXXVIII, p. 365.

[16] Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, p. 214.

[17] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 105.

[18] Abraham Jarvis to Archbishop William Markham, 24 May 1783. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 87.

The three clergy in New York, Inglis, Leaming, and Moore, made an additional request in the petition for consecration to the Archbishop of York. They made a direct plea for financial assistance from the archbishop to support a bishop in America.[20] Their correspondence pointed out that donations had been made for this purpose in earlier years. The S.P.G. records showed £4000 designated to support an American bishop, all of which had been donated between 1717 and 1768. Archbishop Secker had made the last contribution in the amount of £1000, but his was the only contribution received between 1741 and 1768.[21] It is obvious that the English hierarchy was not too interested in the question of an American bishop in the 1760's if only one of their number had been willing to contribute toward it. Nevertheless, the three petitioners wanted these funds for Seabury's support, if he was consecrated. The enthusiastic backers of Seabury were looking ahead to find financial resources in case the laity refused to contribute an episcopal fund. In any event, they were determined to have a bishop even if they had to settle him in Nova Scotia and find financial support outside the United States.

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[19] Morison and Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, I, p. 229.

[20] Jeremiah Leaming to Archbishop William Markham, 24 May 1783. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 84.

[21] Lydekker, op. cit., p. 222.

In the eighteen months Seabury spent in England, he encountered considerable discouragement and only a little encouragement. After he presented his case to Archbishop Markham, he notified his American supporters to prepare for a public reaction, since there was no longer any way to keep the scheme secret. "You can make the attempt with all the strength you can muster," he counseled, "among the laity: and at the same time I would advise that some persons be sent to try the State of Vermont on this subject."[22] Seabury was expecting a negative reaction from the Episcopal laity and the Connecticut state government when they learned of his activities. He naturally worked under tension in England because of his fear of opposition. Had this happened, Seabury would have found himself in an awarkward situation. The English government was still negotiating a peace treaty with America when Seabury made his mission known to Archbishop Markham. An outcry from America over Seabury's activities could have embarrassed the Anglican hierarchy and revived the pre-war fear that a bishop consecrated in England serving in America had to be an agent of the King.

By September, 1783, Seabury confessed to his fellow clergy in Connecticut that he saw no hope of completing his mission successfully. "With regard to my success," he admitted, "I not only think it doubtful, but that the probability is against it. Nobody will risk anything for the sake of continuing Episcopal ordination in America."[23] Seabury personally discovered what Johnson and Chandler had learned in the 1760's - the Anglican hierarchy was not free to act on its own initiative. The bishops were all appointed by the King and subject to political pressures and ministerial guidance. They were amenable to the King and Parliament for their official and personal conduct.[24] King George III did not hesitate to intervene directly into ecclesiastical appointments when he wanted a favorite appointed. In December, 1776, the archbishopric of York was vacant. The King offered it to Richard Terrick of London, who declined it because of ill health, and only after Terrick's refusal was the position offered to William Markham, Bishop of Chester. Richard Hurd, a king's favorite, was advanced to the episcopal bench in 1772 over other possible candidates.[25] In turn, the temporal nobility continued to exert its influence in filling lesser ecclesiastical appointments. It was natural that the appointees looked to the King and nobility whenever an important ecclesiastical decision had to be made. Unless the king and nobility consented, it was extremely difficult for the bishops to act independently.

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[22] Samuel Seabury to Connecticut clergy, 10 August 1783. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 109.

The Georgian Church continued a placid policy in the last quarter of the eighteenth century as it had in the previous twenty-five years. There were no new parishes established in spite of the rapid growth of towns and industry because a separate act of parliament was required for a new parish and vested interest opposed any realignment of the existing parishes. Few of the established clergy were imbued with enough missionary or evangelistic zeal to deviate from their customary ways and extend their ministry to the unchurched. When Richard Watson was elevated to the episcopal bench in 1782, the hope for parish reform was quickened because he had advocated a realignment of parish lines to provide churches and clergy for new communities. Bishop Watson proposed a redistribution of episcopal and capitular revenues to achieve parish reform, but his episcopal colleagues, with the support of the Prime Minister, Lord Shelburne, frustrated Watson's proposals.[26] There was no other plan put forth to reform the church internally before the end of the century.

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[23] Seabury, Memoirs, p. 205.

[24] Sykes, Church and State, p. 401.

[25] Ibid., p. 400.

On April 26, 1783, John Moore, Bishop of Bangor was selected Archbishop of Canterbury, but only after the King's preference, Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, declined the archepiscopal appointment was Moore appointed. John Moore was sponsored by Lord Blandford, son of the second duke of Marlborough. Archbishop Moore presided at Canterbury from 1783 to 1805, but "his archepiscopate was far from being a notable one."[27] He was a typically pious, even-tempered, business-like bishop, but a joiner in worthy projects rather than an initiator of new programs. He gave support to the new Sunday School movement, the association for the reformation of manners, and endorsed missionary work in general, but he took the lead in none of these projects.[28] A man of Moore's temperament was not likely to advocate an American bishopric until he was absolutely sure the King and Parliament approved.

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[26] Ibid., p. 406.

[27] Charles J. Abbey, The English Church and Its Bishops 1700-1800 (2 vols.; London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), II, p. 209.

Seabury reported to his Connecticut associates that the English bishops refused to consecrate him because they were afraid their actions would be interpreted as interfering in the affairs of Connecticut.[29] Archbishop Moore pointed out to Seabury that his supporters had no plan for his financial needs, and unless these were met the office of bishop would be held in contempt. There was no hint in the archbishop's remarks that the American Episcopalians could expect any financial aid from England. It was also noted by the archbishop that Seabury's application for consecration had the approval of the Connecticut clergy only and not the laity.[30] Finally, the English bishops directed Seabury to get a statement from the Connecticut legislature assuring them that a bishop consecrated by them would be accepted without a controversy resulting.[31] Thus Seabury had to seek the assistance of a variety of people within and without the Episcopal Church to further his cause. Seabury admitted that he was constantly plagued by the fear that the Congregationalists would discover the scheme and raise a protest to crush it.[32]

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[28] DNB, XXXVIII, p. 365.

[29] Samuel Seabury to Jeremiah Leaming, 3 September 1783. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 110.

[30] Seabury, Memoirs, p. 211.

[31] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 111.

One English bishop, Robert Lowth, Bishop of London, did attempt to assist Seabury in 1783 and 1784. In the 1760's Lowth had been Bishop of Oxford and a consistent friend of the American church. He received Seabury cordially in 1783, approved of the application for consecration, and promised to aid the measure. When Bishop Lowth discussed Seabury's request with his fellow bishops, he discovered he was a minority of one who thought Seabury could be consecrated without an enabling act by parliament.[33] The problem was that the consecration service contained a loyalty oath to the king which Seabury naturally could not assume if he returned to America. Bishop Lowth believed a dispensation from the king could exempt Seabury from the oath, but the other bishops insisted that an act of parliament was necessary.[34] Although Lowth was unsuccessful in his efforts to assist Seabury, he did introduce a bill in parliament on August 13, 1784, to permit the ordination of deacons and priests for America without the loyalty oaths. The bill passed, but there was no mention of episcopal consecration.[35] Subsequently Mason Locke Weems and Edward Gnatt were ordained deacon and priest on September 5, 1784, but Seabury had to mark time.

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[32] Ibid., p. 107.

[33] Samuel Seabury to Connecticut clergy, 15 July 1783. Ibid., p. 107.

[34] Ibid., p. 106.

The reasons why Seabury was not granted consecration had been expressed earlier by Archbishop Moore. The Connecticut Episcopal clergy had tried to answer the archbishop's request for confirmation that the Connecticut legislature would not object to a bishop. In January, 1784, Jeremiah Leaming, Abraham Jarvis, and Bela Hubbard journeyed to New Haven to confer with the state legislators about the settlement of a bishop in Connecticut. They were informed that an act had already been passed to conver their request. It read,

> no sect is invested with privileges superior to another. No creed is established, and no test act excludes any person from holding any offices in government. . . .The regulations, therefore, grant to every person, full liberty to adopt such creed as he pleases and secure to every denomination, the power and privilege of worshipping according to the dictates of their consciences.[36]

The state officials and the Episcopal clergy thought this act should answer the archbishop's question, but apparently it did not. Furthermore, the Connecticut clergy made no mention of financial support for Seabury, nor did they indicate whether they had informed the laity about their episcopal scheme. In view of these circumstances Archbishop

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[35] Salomon, "British Legislation and American Episcopate," HMPEC, XX, p. 283.

[36] Zephaniah Swift, A System of the Laws of the State of Connecticut (2 vols.; Windham, 1795), I, p. 145.

Moore did not encourage Seabury to pursue consecration.

It is not absolutely clear who made the final decision against Seabury's consecration. Archbishop Moore felt an act of parliament was necessary to permit it, but he did not initiate the legislation to implement it nor did anyone else. In his Memoirs for August 13, 1784, Seabury listed seven reasons why the British ministry objected to his consecration. First, they felt a bishop should be settled in Nova Scotia. Secondly and thirdly, Connecticut was only one state, and to be sure there would be no adverse reaction in America, Congress should request it. Fourthly and fifthly, since the laity had not petitioned for Seabury's consecration, it was assumed by the ministry that they opposed it. Sixthly, the absence of any organized diocese deprived a bishop of support. Lastly, "that not having sent Bps. into America while the 13 states were subject to Great Britain, it would have a very suspicious look to do it now, and would probably create, or augment ill will in that country against G.B."[37] Seabury realized the futility of trying to argue with the archbishop and the ministry. It is certain the British ministry was not about to do anything to antagonize America whether the bishops approved it or not. The episcopal scheme had come to a dead end in England.

There was, however, a clergyman in the Church of England, George Berkeley, son of the famous philosopher, Bishop Berkeley of Cloyne, who earlier anticipated Seabury's defeat in England. Berkeley, in November, 1783, wrote to Bishop John Skinner of the Scottish Nonjuring bishops,

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[37] Seabury, Memoirs, p. 211.

> I have this day heard that a respectable Presbyter, well recommended from America, has arrived in London seeking what, it seems, in the present state of affairs, he cannot expect to receive in our church. Surely, dear Sir, the Scotch Prelates, who are not shackled by any Erastian connexion, will not send this suppliant away.[38]

Berkeley, unknown to Seabury, opened the door for Seabury's consecration, for Bishop Skinner made a favorable reply.[39] Had Seabury known of these unofficial arrangements he could have saved himself a great deal of time, effort, and expense.

As early as May, 1784, Seabury advised Abraham Jarvis that it appeared necessary for him to turn to the Nonjurors and request consecration. He requested confirmation that consecration in Scotland would be acceptable, but he received no reply.[40] Seabury waited until the end of August before he made an overt gesture toward the Scottish bishops. The absence of a reply from America he interpreted to mean consent, for on August 31, 1784, he asked a former associate in America, Myles Cooper, who was senior minister of the new English chapel in Edinburgh, to acquaint the local Nonjuring minister with his request.[41] John Allan relayed Seabury's message to Robert Kilgour, Primus of Scotland. A meeting of

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[38] Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, p. 238.

[39] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 130.

[40] Samuel Seabury to Abraham Jarvis, 24 May 1784. Seabury, Memoirs, p. 216.

[41] Samuel Seabury to Myles Cooper, 31 August 1784. Ibid., p. 227.

Nonjurors was held and Seabury's request for consecration approved. When Seabury received the news, he replied, "I propose through the favor of God's good providence, to be at Aberdeen by the 10th of November, and shall there wait the convening of the Bishops, who have so humanely taken this matter under their management."[42]

At Aberdeen, Scotland, on November 14, 1784, Seabury was consecrated bishop by the Right Reverend Robert Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus of Scotland, the Right Reverend Arthur Petrie, Bishop of Ross and Moray,and the Right Reverend John Skinner, Coadjutor.[43] The responsiveness and cordiality of the Scottish bishops must have overwhelmed Seabury after his months of delay and frustration in England. Years of pro-episcopal agitation by a small group of American Episcopalians for a bishop had finally succeeded. But at the moment of his triumph, Seabury laid the basis for a new round in the episcopal controversy among American churchmen. Before he left Aberdeen on his return to England the first evidence of the impending struggle appeared.

In November, 1784, William Smith's letter containing his objections to Seabury's consecration reached the Nonjurors. Smith argued that the consecration of Seabury by the Nonjurors would be a stroke against episcopacy. He claimed, with or without first-hand information, that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York had not thought Seabury a proper candidate for bishop since he had served against America in the Revolution. In the second place, Smith asserted that Seabury's effort to obtain episcopal consecration had come too soon after the war and had the support of too few Episcopalians. The secret manner in which the scheme was devised would cause Seabury to be ignored by many church people when he returned.[44] These objections registered by Smith were probably valid, for Seabury's consecration did complicate the episcopal question. However, it is difficult to explain Smith's attack, since he too had tried to promote a scheme to become a bishop in Maryland in 1783. Possibly Smith reasoned that Seabury's consecration in Scotland would hinder or prevent his own consecration in England at a future date. This was an actual possibility because the English bishops were prohibited by law from recognizing the Nonjurors.[45] If the English bishops ignored the American Episcopal churches because of Seabury's consecration, the main body of American Episcopalians would be cut off from their parent church without ever having had a voice in the matter.

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[42] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 231.

[43] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 145.

Seabury's consecration by the Nonjurors had far-reaching political implications. In 1784 the Nonjurors existed under strict legal regulation because they had not renounced their loyalty to the House of Stuart after the Revolution of 1689.[46] In 1689, the Archbishop of Canterbury,

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[44] Beardsley, _op. cit_., p. 143.

[45] Sykes, _Church and State_, p. 289.

[46] Carpenter, _op. cit_., p. 60.

William Sancroft, and four hundred clergy refused to take the oath of loyalty to William and Mary. By 1691, they were all deprived of their respective positions, but many found refuge in Scotland, where loyalty to the House of Stuart was prevalent. Their number, however, had steadily decreased from 1691 to 1784, for there were only four bishops and forty-two ministers who continued the Nonjuring tradition in 1784. The total constituency they served was not over ten thousand.[47] Their religious exercises were restricted so that the clergy had to officiate in private homes and to no more than four persons in addition to the resident family. In rural areas, their places of worship had been frequently burnt, demolished, or closed by the military. The severe laws against Nonjurors were relaxed in 1784, but not repealed because their personal political and ecclesiastical loyalty rendered them obnoxious to the English government and the Church of England.[48] Thus Seabury's consecration made it impossible for the English bishops to accept him. As a sign of their disapproval, the Anglican clergy closed all their pulpits to Seabury upon his return from Scotland.[49]

At first Seabury was not fully aware of the political and ecclesiastical implications of his consecration. In December, 1784, he wrote to Jonathan Boucher, a former pro-episcopal advocate from Maryland who was serving Epsom Parish, England, and advised him of his consecration. Seabury expressed his belief that his relationship with the Church of England was undisturbed. "Upon the whole," he wrote, "I know of nothing, that ought to interrupt my connection with the Church of England."[50] It seems incredible that Seabury had been in England sixteen months without detecting the enmity which existed between the English and Scottish bishops. Perhaps he did know something of the differences between the English and Scottish bishops, but discounted it because he felt his mission was far more important than the internal differences between two episcopal traditions. He was, however, soon made aware that he was in disfavor with the Church of England.

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[47] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 147.

[48] Ibid., p. 147.

[49] Ibid., p. 171.

George Horne, Dean of Canterbury, corrected Seabury's estimate of his relationship with the Church of England in January, 1785. "I am truly sorry," he confessed, "that our cabinet here would not save you the trouble of going to Scotland for it. There is some uneasiness about it, I find, since it is done. It is said you have been precipitate about it."[51] This notice alerted Seabury to his unfortunate plight in the eyes of the English hierarchy, and he subsequently admitted to the Connecticut clergy "since my return from Scotland, I have seen none of the Bishops, but I have been informed that the step I have taken has displeased the two Archbishops."[52] The official church policy withheld any recognition from Seabury, and any request for financial aid from England to support an American bishop was out of the question. Seabury and his associates were now dependent on their own resources except for the moral support the Scottish bishops could offer.

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[50] Samuel Seabury to Jonathan Boucher, 3 December 1784. Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, p. 253.

[51] George Horne to Samuel Seabury, January 1785. Seabury, Memoirs, p. 259.

By the end of January, 1785, Bishop John Skinner, one of Seabury's ordainers, warned him to expect further opposition in America. Skinner was prophetic when he wrote,

> I see the difficulties which you will have to struggle with from the loose, incoherent notions of church government which seem to prevail too much, even among those of the Episcopal persuasion in some of the Southern states;. . .and what ever view they may have had of the future establishment of episcopacy in America, I think they could not have contrived more effectually for suppressing the influence and smothering all the benefits of it.[53]

William Smith was particularly denounced by Skinner as an incompetent leader of the American churches. Skinner classed Smith with Alexander Murry, a former S.P.G. missionary to Reading, Pennsylvania, who disparaged Seabury in London by declaring that Seabury was the choice of only a few missionaries.[54] Thomas B. Chandler, who had been in London for ten years, heard of Smith's opposition to Seabury, and in

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[52] Samuel Seabury to Jeremiah Leaming, 5 January 1785. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 169.

[53] John Skinner to Samuel Seabury, 29 January 1785. Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 255.

[54] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 165.

April, 1785, he wrote to Bishop Skinner about Smith. "In my opinion," he told Skinner, he Seabury has more trouble to expect from a certain crooked-grained false brother (of whose character you must have some knowledge), than from any other person. I mean Dr. S-th, late of Philadelphia College, now of Maryland."[55] Chandler knew from his pre-war contest with Smith that he was a formidable opponent, but Chandler also hoped the loyal churchmen would rally around Seabury.

At the time of his consecration, Seabury signed a concordate of seven articles with the Scottish bishops, and one of them was a source of serious trouble. Article two read in part,

> the chief ministers or Managers of the affairs of this spiritual Society, are those called Bishops, whose Exercise of their sacred office being independent of all Lay powers, it follows of consequence, that their spiritual Authority, and Jurisdiction, cannot be affected by any Lay-Deprivation.[56]

Any attempt to separate episcopacy from lay participation was destined for defeat in America. In 1785, Seabury was not sure the Connecticut laity would accept this position. The Episcopal state conventions of 1783, 1784, and 1785 had all received laymen as equals in all church affairs. To reverse this trend would be next to impossible and to debate the issue would cause serious devision and possible schism. Furthermore, several of the state conventions had expressed the intention of remaining as close to the Church of England in liturgy and worship as circumstances permitted.

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[55] Thomas B. Chandler to John Skinner, 23 April 1785. *Ibid*., p. 179.

[56] *Ibid*., p. 151.

William White and the clergy to the south did not learn of the Connecticut scheme until May 11, 1784. At the suggestion of Abraham Beach, rector of Christ Church, New Brunswick, a preliminary meeting of clergy and laymen was held to consider reviving the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of the Clergy, which had been defunct during the war. There were ten clergy and six laymen representing New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania at this first interstate meeting of the Episcopal churches. It was at this meeting that the Connecticut scheme came to light.[57] Since the representatives present were interested in a national church union, they discussed and agreed upon three points. First, a delegation was selected to confer with the Connecticut clergy and solicit their cooperation in a plan for church union. Second, a committee was to correspond with anyone interested in church union. Third, a voluntary meeting of clergy and laymen was scheduled for October 6 and 7, 1784, in New York to pursue a plan for union.[58]

A voluntary meeting of clerical and lay representatives of the Protestant Episcopal Churches met in New York as planned. There were sixteen clergymen and eleven laymen in attendance representing seven state groups. The New York and Pennsylvania delegations numerically dominated the meeting, for they had eight clergy and eight laymen between them or more than half the votes. In contrast, Virginia had only one unofficial representative, David Griffith, because the Episcopal church in that state was not fully disestablished until December, 1784. Maryland had but one delegate, William Smith, while North and South Carolina, and Georgia were not represented. Samuel Parker attended, but he served out of a personal concern for church union after a convention of Episcopalians from Massachusetts and Rhode Island rejected an official invitation. John Rutgers Marshall was present from Connecticut, but he did not participate directly because he was committed to await Seabury's return before engaging in any proposed plan of union.[59]

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[57] White, Memoirs, p. 78.

[58] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 5.

William Smith was selected chairman, and Benjamin Moore, assistant rector of Trinity Church, New York, was secretary. A constitution of seven articles was prepared, adopted, and recommended to the several state conventions for consideration. Article one proposed that a General Convention be organized. State representatives to the General Convention were to consist of both clergy and lay delegates, and article three provided for joint representation by two or more states. The New York meeting also felt it advisable to remain as close to the Church of England as possible in matters of doctrine and liturgy. Article five specified that in every state having a bishop, he was an _ex officio_ member of the General Convention. The clergy and laity were to vote separately on all issues, but the concurrence of both was required to pass any measure. The seventh article set the first meeting of the General Convention for September 27, 1785, in Philadelphia, and every state Episcopal convention was invited to send delegates.[60]

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[59] _A Convention in New York, October 6 and 7, 1784_ (New York, 1784).

The first interstate convention after the war used the name "Protestant Episcopal Church" to identify itself.[61] This was an important step toward the eventual official adoption of the title. This convention, however, differed from the pre-war conventions because it included laymen as an integral part of church government. The laymen had achieved virtual control of the local churches in the colonial period, and the post-war reorganization provided the opportunity to augment this influence on state and national levels. If the laymen had been ignored in October, 1784, there would have been another lay uprising as there was in Maryland in 1783. Only one reference was made by the convention to episcopacy, and this defined a bishop as an ex officio member of the General Convention.[62] In other words, a bishop could discuss issues, vote, and serve as any other delegate, but he was not chairman by virtue of his ecclesiastical rank. A majority of the clergy and laity would carry any issue regardless of the bishop's opinion. No special rank or prerogatives were reserved for the episcopal office, nor were the state conventions encouraged to seek bishops. It was the plain intention of the New York meeting that a representative convention exercise final authority in church matters and not a convocation of bishops.

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

The actions of the New York meeting paralleled closely the proposals of White's The Case. The meeting was held publicly after the churches had been notified and invited. The laity were urged to attend and treated as equals. A plan for a national organization was formulated first and the episcopal issue was postponed. A representative process was instituted whereby each local church , each state convention, and each delegate to the General Convention had an equal vote in all decisions. The contrast between the authoritarian approach of Connecticut and the republican attitude of a majority of Episcopalians was drawn in the New York meeting. Whether the two different approaches to reorganization would lead to schism or be compromised was not known in 1784. It was, however, evident to those involved that there were serious differences of opinions within the American Episcopal churches.

The Episcopalians who planned and convened the New York meeting found a precedent in the intercolonial conventions of 1766 and 1767 which were held in Elizabeth Town, New Jersey.[63] Both the pre and post-war conventions took place in the same geographical area. Nineteen clergyman had met in 1766 and sixteen in 1784, but the adamant pro-episcopal exponents were not present in 1784. Chandler, Seabury, Cooper, and Inglis were all in England in 1784, though Chandler and Seabury returned in 1785. Perhaps the pre and postwar conventions were held primarily in the New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania area because in these three states the churches had been largely dependent on their own resources. From Maryland to Georgia the governors and legislatures had the authority to permit or deny the meeting of the Anglican clergy. In New England, the Congregationalists were hostile to Anglicanism, but in the middle colonies there was no religious establishment and a greater measure of toleration. Besides, the 1766 and 1767 conventions met in defiance of the wishes of the Bishop of London, but the Episcopalians in 1784 were free to make their own decisions. Only the Connecticut clergy resembled the 1766 and 1767 conventions closely because they took matters into their own hands without consulting the laity and tried to persuade the English bishops to provide them with a bishop.

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[63] See footnote 4, chapter 2.

CHAPTER X

IMPENDING SCHISM

Bishop Samuel Seabury landed at Newport, Rhode Island, on June 20, 1785. He preached the next Sunday in Trinity Church, Newport, before setting out for his destination, New London, Connecticut. Nine days after his arrival Seabury alerted Abraham Jarvis to call the Connecticut clergy together as soon as possible.[1] Seabury acted with energy and dispatch because by December, 1785, he had held two convocations, ordained twelve priests and several deacons, visited numerous churches, and informed the Episcopalians to the south of Connecticut about his ideas for church union.[2] In the meantime the first General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church convened in Philadelphia on September 27, 1785, and officially adopted six of the seven articles proposed by the New York Convention of 1784, and referred one article, four, to committee for further study.[3] Thus the two different approaches to church reorganization were formalized in 1785 and continued to exist *vis à vis* for the

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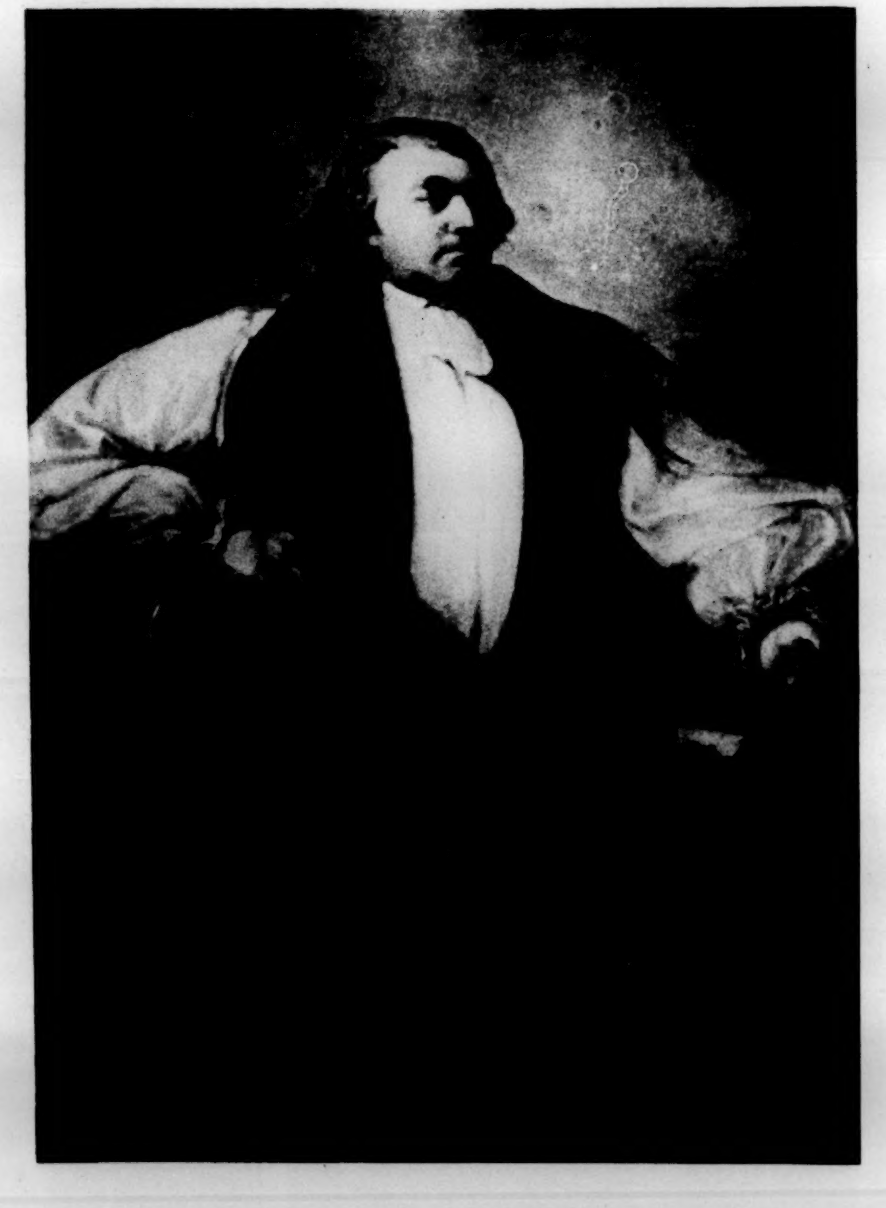
[1] Beardsley, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[2] Seabury, *Memoirs*, p. 289.

[3] *Journals of the General Conventions*, p. 5.



(Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery)

Duché portrait of Bishop Samuel Seabury
Copy made by Mildred Jordon

next three years.

The first overt act indicating that the Connecticut clergy were committed to follow Seabury's leadership in church reorganization occurred at the August 2nd convocation held at Middletown, Connecticut. There were eleven clergy present from Connecticut in addition to a representative from Massachusetts, Samuel Parker, and one from New York, Benjamin Moore. Three Episcopal ministers from Connecticut--James Scoville, Samuel Andrews, and Richard S. Clark--had recently moved to Nova Scotia because of their Loyalist sympathies and the migration of part of their respective congregations. Thus all the Episcopal clergymen in Connecticut were present at Middletown, but no laymen were invited nor were any present.[4] After formal greetings were exchanged between Seabury and the clergy, the bishop delivered a charge to the clergy in which he emphasized the importance of sound theology, proper personal conduct, and the opportunity to revive the rite of confirmation. Then four prospective clergymen--Henry Vandyke, Philo Shelton, Ashbel Baldwin, and Colin Ferguson--were ordained deacons. The first three ordained expected to remain in Connecticut, but the fourth, Colin Ferguson, was from Maryland.[5] At this stage of his episcopal ministry, Seabury did not hesitate to project his influence beyond Connecticut.

Seabury continued to extend his episcopal functions beyond Connecticut when later in 1785 he ordained Joseph Pilmoor of Pennsylvania and John Lowe of Virginia.[6] There were six more men ordained by Seabury before the end of 1785, which meant that more clergy were ordained for the American churches in the last six months of 1785 than in the previous ten years.[7] Although parliament had passed an Enabling Act in September, 1784, to permit the English bishops to ordain priests and deacons without the loyalty oaths, it was obvious that more young men were resorting to Seabury than were traveling to England for ordination. Once a man was ordained by Seabury it was natural to expect him to feel a sense of obligation and loyalty to the bishop. These ordinations also gave Seabury an opportunity to examine the candidates and to impress upon them his particular view of episcopacy. Later, Seabury was charged by his critics with extracting an oath of obedience from the candidates who were ordained by him, but this charge was not proved.[8]

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[4] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 208.

[5] Ibid., p. 213.

Invitations to serve churches and confirm members outside Connecticut were readily accepted by Seabury. In his capacity of bishop, he visited Boston and Portsmouth, Massachusetts, Newport, Rhode Island, and Hempstead, Long Island,

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[6] Seabury, op. cit., p. 289.

[7] George W. Lamb (compiler), "Clergymen Licensed to the American Colonies by the Bishops of London: 1745-1781," HMPEC, XIII, pp. 128-143.

[8] William Smith to Samuel Seabury, 12 July 1786. Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, p. 301.

and ordained, confirmed, and ministered as each church required.[9] Since there was no other Episcopal bishop in America, he believed it was within the scope of his office to exercise the functions of bishop wherever he was accepted. These extended activities naturally excited the clergy and laity in other states. Thomas B. Chandler of Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, warned Seabury that resistance was mounting against him because of these activities. "I find that some people have a jealousy," he wrote, "that you are aiming at the rule of the whole continent in ecclesiastical matters; and they blame you for hastening to settle the Constitution of the Church in Connecticut, before the meeting of the Continental Convention."[10] The episcopal controversy shaping up in 1785 was almost exclusively an internal one. After Seabury's arrival in 1785, only one attack on him appeared in the major newspapers.[11] The New England Congregationalists stood on the side line of the episcopal contest in the 1780's.

Next, Seabury informed William Smith in no uncertain terms what he thought of the seven articles of the proposed General Constitution developed at the October 1784, New York Convention. "But, my dear sir," he chided,

> there are some things which, if I do not much misapprehend, are really wrong. . . .1. I think

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[9] Seabury, op. cit., p. 289.

[10] Thomas B. Chandler to Samuel Seabury, 28 July 1785. Ibid., p. 288.

[11] Independent New York Gazette and New York Journal, May 12, 1785, p. 5.

> you have done wrong in establishing so many, and so precise, fundamental rules. 2. I think you have too much circumscribed the power of your bishop. 3. But I cannot conceive that the laity can with any propriety be admitted to sit in judgment on bishops and presbyters. . . . .In short, the rights of the Christian Church arise not from nature or compact, but from the institution of Christ. . .and permit me to hope that you will at your approaching convention so far recede in the points I have mentioned.[12]

The authoritarian tone of Seabury's remarks was not intended to improve relations between Smith and himself. Perhaps he derived some secret satisfaction in lecturing his antagonist on the proper way to reorganize the church. In any event, Seabury left no room to negotiate or compromise the issues with which he disagreed.

Not content with admonishing Smith, Seabury, on August, 19, 1785, advised William White of his objections. "I hope you will be induced to reconsider the matters pointed out in my letter," he wrote.

> The two points which I am most concerned about are your circumscribing the episcopal power within such narrow bounds, depriving the bishop of all government in the church, except as a presbyter, and your subjecting him and yourselves to be tried before a convention of presbyters and laymen.[13]

A prelatical attitude permeates this correspondence and the inference was clear that unless the General Convention concurred with Seabury's recommendations they could not expect his cooperation.

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[12] Samuel Seabury to William Smith, 15 August 1785. Beardsley, op. cit., pp. 230-235.

[13] Samuel Seabury to William White, 19 August 1785. Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, p. 281.

Chandler came quickly to the aid of his pre-war lieutenant, Seabury, and urged White to try to persuade the General Convention to rescind articles five and six of the proposed constitution which made a bishop only an _ex officio_ member of the Convention and subjected him to the joint control of clergy and laity.[14] Because of poor health, Chandler could not attend the General Convention, but he exerted his influence against the inclusion of laymen in ecclesiastical meetings on the same basis with clergy. The Virginia Convention of May, 1785, in which Carter Blaxton frequently presided as chairman, particularly incensed Chandler. To Chandler, the church should obtain bishops before it created a constitution, and for this reason he praised the Connecticut clergy because "in Connecticut the constitution of the church is now completed, . . ., upon right principles."[15]

The leaders of the Episcopalians in Connecticut were invited to attend the General Convention which met on September 27, 1785, but they did not send a representation. In addition, Samuel Parker advised White that the Massachusetts Convention decided against sending a delegation to Philadelphia because of article five of the proposed constitution.[16]

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[14] Thomas B. Chandler to William White, 2 September 1785. Perry, Half Century of Legislation, pp. 72-75.

[15] _Ibid_., p. 75.

[16] Samuel Parker to William White, 14 September 1785. Hawks and Perry, _Connecticut_, p. 285.

Although the Massachusetts Episcopalians did not agree with Seabury on excluding laymen from ecclesiastical meetings, they were unwilling to see him demoted to merely a voting member of the General Convention as stipulated by article five. Seabury and his backers were unwilling to attend the first General Convention and take the risk of not having the bishop invited or elected to serve as chairman of that body. If the bishop from Connecticut with his supporters had attended the Convention, one can only speculate about what might have happened. It would have been a miracle if Seabury and Smith had received each other amicably, but sometimes a miracle happens as it did at a later date.

One week before the Convention opened, Chandler made a last plea to White in an effort to persuade him "not to give your [his] consent to robbing episcopacy of its essential rights. I am the more urgent with you on this head, as I hope the time is not far distant when I am to see you vested with the Episcopal character."[17] Chandler apparently thought there was still hope White could be persuaded, but his subsequent actions indicate that he remained unchanged in his attitudes toward episcopacy and lay participation. This was the last attempt Chandler made to sway White from the principles the latter set forth in The Case in 1782. The number of state conventions which sent delegations to the General Convention made it known that the majority of Episcopalians were in favor of organizing the churches first on a constitutional basis.

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[17] Thomas B. Chandler to William White, 20 September 1785. Ibid., p. 283.

The first General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church opened on September 27, 1785, in Christ Church, Philadelphia. There were sixteen clergy and twenty-six laymen from the seven states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. William White was chosen president and David Griffith of Virginia secretary. The first item of business was the approving of six of the seven articles proposed at the New York Convention and the referring of article four, which dealt with the liturgy, to committee for further study. Next a committee was formed of one clergyman and one layman from each state to draft an ecclesiastical constitution, reexamine the liturgy, and prepare a plan for obtaining episcopal consecration for bishops elected by the state conventions. William Smith was selected to head this committee.[18]

Many of the men who were sent to the General Convention had distinguished themselves in the service of America during the war. Two of the clergy had served in the armed forces. David Griffith was ordained in 1771 and served in New Jersey and New York before receiving a call to Shelburne Parish, Virginia, in 1774. In Virginia he signed the nonimportation agreement along with twenty-four other Anglican clergymen in 1774. During the war he served as chaplain and surgeon to the Third Virginia Regiment from 1775 to 1779.

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[18] Journals of General Conventions, pp. 5-6.

when he returned to Virginia in 1780, he became rector of Fairfax Parish.[19] Henry Purcell, rector of Saint Michael's Church, Charleston, served as chaplain and judge advocate in the military service.[20] William White had served as chaplain to the Continental Congress, and Samuel Provoost of New York was elected chaplain of the New York State Convention.[21] None of the clergy present had been an ardent Loyalist, and all of them demonstrated a measure of sympathy toward the cause of independence before the end of the war.

There were several laymen in the first General Convention whose patriotism was well known. John Page of Virginia served as lieutenant governor under Patrick Henry during the Revolution and remained in the Assembly until 1789, when he was elected to Congress.[22] Jame Duane of New York had been a member of the Continental Congress almost continuously until 1783; then he became mayor of New York City from 1784 to 1789.[23] Both Jacob Read and Charles C. Pickney of South Carolina served America faithfully throughout the war. Pickney served as aide to General Washington for a time, survived as a prisoner of the British, and finally was released in 1782.[24] Richard Peters of Pennsylvania, nephew of the former rector of Christ and Saint Peter's Churches, served the Continental Congress and in 1787 was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly.[25] Thus the Convention was dominated by delegates, clergy and laity, who had demonstrated their allegiance to the principles of the American Revolution.

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[19] Nelson R. Burr, The Anglican Church in New Jersey (Philadelphia: Church Historical Society, 1954), Appendix, p. 606.

[20] Manross, op. cit., p. 182.

[21] DAB, XV, p. 250.

[22] Ibid., XIV, pp. 137-138.

[23] Ibid., pp.465-466.

A General Ecclesiastical Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America was reported to the convention on Tuesday, October 4th. The eleven articles were based upon the seven proposals of the New York Convention. Article one provided for the meeting of a second General Convention in Philadelphia on June 3, 1786, and every third year thereafter. Article two required a state delegation to the General Convention to include both clergy and laymen, and article three reinforced this position. Article five specified that any state which had a bishop who agreed with these rules could have him admitted as a member *ex officio* of the General Convention. The right of every state to decide whether or not to have a bishop was guaranteed in article six as well as a directive that every bishop should limit his activity to his proper jurisdiction unless requested to do otherwise. Provision was made for other state conventions to join the general body in the future by compliance with the Constitution in article seven.

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[24] *Ibid*., XIV, pp. 614-616.

[25] *Ibid*., XIV, pp. 509-510.

Article eight placed all clergymen, bishops, presbyters, and deacons under the authority of the state convention to which they belonged in matters of suspension or removal from office. The liturgy was dealt with in two articles, four and nine, and the theological position of the church was succinctly defined in article ten. The eleventh article stipulated that the constitution would become law when ratified by the state conventions.[26]

The General Ecclesiastical Constitution made it abundantly clear that there was no attempt made to come to terms with Seabury. The state and general conventions were reinforced as the appropriate governing bodies in their respective areas. Lay representation was insisted upon as a prerequisite for admission into the General Convention. The sixth article which prescribed the activities of a bishop to his own state unless otherwise requested was a direct criticism of Seabury. Any hope for cooperation with Seabury was removed by article eight, which made a bishop amenable to his state convention for suspension or removal. As far as the General Convention was concerned, a bishop would ordain and confirm upon request, but serve as a regular priest in every other respect.[27]

An incident occurred in the general committee which expressed the antipathy felt by some of the delegates toward Seabury. Someone made a motion that a bishop, if present in the convention, should preside. White, who relates the incident, does not identify the originator of the motion, but he does record that it was defeated. Then the same person introduced his motion again on the floor of the general session. This apparently produced the emotional climax of the convention, for White commented that this motion brought on a debate, "which produced more heat than any thing else, that happened during the session."[28] Again the motion was easily defeated. White's personal observation was that "a spirit of hostility to the Bp. of Connecticut was manifested by some of the delegates."[29] Instead of making a place for Seabury in the General Convention, the unnamed author of the amendment to article five unwittingly demonstrated how far apart the two factions were.

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[26] Journals of the General Conventions, pp. 8-10.

[27] Ibid., p. 9.

The General Convention did, however, adopt a plan for securing bishops in the English line. A lengthy application to the archbishops and bishops in England was drawn up which emphasized the past relationship of the American churchmen with the Church of England. A request was made for the English bishops to confer the episcopal character upon persons duly elected by state conventions and recommended by the General Convention. The application also included an explanation of the separation of church and state which had taken place in many states so that the state had no direct control over the church. The Convention agreed to await word from the English bishops before sending episcopal candidates to England, but in the meantime state conventions were encouraged to elect bishops with the concurrence of the laity and to secure certification from the civil rulers that the application for bishops was in no way contrary to the laws of the state.[30] At this time the Convention made it definite that

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[28] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 210.

[29] William S. Perry (ed.), The Life, Times, and Correspondence of William White (2 vols.; Privately Printed, 1887), II, p. 7.

> bishops of this church will not be entitled to any such temporal honors as are due to the Archbishops and Bishops of the parent church, . . .; that it be recommended to this church in the states here represented, to provide, that their respective Bishops may be called 'The Right Rev. A.B. Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in C.D.' and as Bishop may have no other title.[31]

One wonders whether the first General Convention would have applied to the English bishops for episcopal consecrations if Seabury had not first succeeded in Scotland. At least one Episcopalian, Samuel Parker, credited Seabury with compelling the General Convention to move for bishops.[32] Unquestionably Seabury's achievement and program forced the Convention to face squarely the episcopal issue. It is obvious the general body of Episcopalians benefited from Seabury's experiences in England, for the General Convention wrote in advance to the English bishops, explained their political situation, and waited for the bishops' reply before sending candidates to England. In addition, they solicited the endorsements of an impressive number of political leaders to support their request.

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[30] Journals of the General Conventions, pp. 12-15.

[31] Ibid., p. 12.

[32] Samuel Parker to William White, 15 September 1786. Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 325.

Before the second General Convention met on June 20, 1786, three state conventions, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, elected bishops and secured certificates from their respective state governments that their election of bishops in no way conflicted with state law. A convention of New York Episcopalians assembled on May 16, 1786, and selected Samuel Provoost bishop. The first eight articles and article eleven of the *General Ecclesiastical Constitution* were ratified, and articles nine and ten, which dealt with the *Prayer Book* and theology, were referred to committee. Then one important item of instruction was given to the delegates to the next General Convention. They were directed "not to consent to any act that may imply the validity of Dr. Seabury's ordinations."[33] The Pennsylvania state convention met on May 22, 1786, and elected William White bishop. Furthermore, an assessment of £350 was apportioned among the churches to cover White's expenses for consecration.[34] Pennsylvania Episcopalians were the first to assume the expenses of a bishop-elect, and they apparently did it without hesitation or controversy.

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[33] *Proceedings of the Convetion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York*, *op. cit*., p. 7.

[34] *Convention Journals of Pennsylvania*, *op. cit*., p. 11.

The second Virginia state convention was held on May 24, 1786, at Richmond with sixteen ministers and forty-seven laymen in attendance. The proposed General Ecclesiastical Constitution was agreed to. The committee which reported on the first General Convention to the state convention expressed the request that bishops be elected by the several state bodies, but the committee added its opinion "that with respect to obtaining consecration for a bishop to officiate in their church, they thought it unnecessary for them to take any step of that sort."[35] The discussion which followed this recommendation is not recorded, but it is known that two clergymen, Robert Andrews and John Bracken, and two laymen, John Blair and John Page, who comprised the committee that reported on the first General Convention, did not want a bishop for Virginia.[36] The subject of a bishop does not appear in the convention minutes again until five days later when David Griffith was elected bishop by thirty-two votes.[37]

An analysis of the voting for bishops in Virginia reveals that Griffith was elected by the narrowest possible margin. There were sixty-three delegates, sixteen clergy and forty-seven laymen, at the convention who were eligible to vote. Since issues were decided by a majority vote, a minimum of thirty-two votes was necessary to elect a bishop. Griffith received just thirty-two votes, John Bracken got ten votes, and Samuel Shield, seven.[38] All the votes cast for a bishop total only forty-nine, which means fourteen or almost one-fourth of the delegates did not vote. If the total possible representation from the one hundred parishes had been present, there was a potential of two hundred votes because a parish without a minister could send two lay delegates in Virginia. In any event, Griffith was chosen, but his supporters were so few in number that it is not surprising that he subsequently failed in his bid for consecration. The pre-war resistance to episcopacy was still alive in Virginia in 1786 and destined to show itself again and again.

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[35] Hawks, Ecclesiastical Contributions, I, Appendix, p. 13.

[36] Ibid., p. 13.

[37] Ibid., p. 17.

In all three states where Episcopalians elected bishops in 1786, the state officials granted certificates to prove that there was no conflict between church and state interest. Governors Patrick Henry of Virginia and George Clinton of New York complied as well as the governing Council of Pennsylvania.[39] Richard Henry Lee, President of Congress, and John Jay, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, supplied a certificate on behalf of the Federal Government. Furthermore, Lee wrote to John Adams, the American minister in England, and advised him of the episcopal problem and indicated how he might help. "It is imagined that before any thing is done in this business by the Bishops in England," he wrote,

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[38] Ibid., pp. 12,17.

[39] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, pp. 281-282.

> that they will consult the King and Ministry: who it is apprehended, may now, as heretofore, suppose that any step of the kind being taken in England, might be considered here as an officious intermeddling. Should this be the case the Church of England Members in Congress have the greatest reliance on your liberal regard for the religious rights of all men, that you will remove mistaken scruples from the mind of the administration.[40]

Both Richard Henry Lee and John Jay were Episcopalian laymen from Virginia and New York, respectively. Jay was elected a lay delegate for New York to attend the second General Convention.[41] Lee's personal approval of the first General Convention went a long way in aiding that body in its quest for episcopal consecrations in England. The sentiments of Lee were expressed in October, 1785, to an unnamed friend. "It is with infinite pleasure," he admitted,

> I learn that our church convention at Philadelphia has concluded their business with great concord. It was a circumstance of much advantage that their Council were not disturbed by the mischievous [sic] high church principles that prevail with the non-juring Episcopalians of these Northern regions, who, with Bishop Seabury at their head, would have been very sufficient to disturb the Moderate Councils of any Whig assembly in the world.[42]

It was fortunate for the General Convention that it had not tried to negotiate or compromise with Seabury in 1785 because it might well have lost the support of powerful and influential laymen like Lee and Jay.

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[40] White, Memoirs, p. 325.

[41] Journals of the General Convention, p. 18.

[42] Richard H. Lee to unnamed, 10 October 1785. James C. Ballagh (ed.), The Letters of Richard Henry Lee (2 vols.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914), II, p. 388.

John Jay expressed his sentiment about bishops to John Adams in a cover letter he wrote for Richard Henry Lee's correspondence on November 1, 1785. As an active Episcopalian, vestryman of Trinity Church, New York, and future member of the General Convention Jay could and did inform Adams of the internal attitude of his fellow churchmen toward episcopacy. First, he emphasized "the convention is not inclined to acknowledge or have any thing to do with Mr. Seabury."[43] The authoritarian attitude of Seabury and his independent actions, in addition to his former political loyalty to England, render him unacceptable to the Episcopalians in general. Second, there were others at the Convention who did not particularly want bishops at all, but they were willing to accept a moderate or constitutional episcopacy for the sake of harmony within their ranks. Jay identified himself as one of those to whom "bishops are of little importance."[44] But he was willing to accept bishops if they were subject to convention control. Under no circumstances did he approve of the Seabury type of episcopacy. Jay was committed to the principles of representative government, and unless these same principles were applied to episcopacy, he would have opposed it.[45] Furthermore, Jay wanted no part in any scheme that would remind Americans of the former British authority. In his attitudes Jay represented the majority position of the General Convention.

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[43] John Jay to John Adams, 1 November 1785. Charles F. Adams (ed.), The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: with a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations (10 vols.; Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1853), VIII, pp. 334-335.

[44] Ibid., p. 362.

[45] DAB, X, pp. 5-9.

Perhaps John Jay was encouraged in his reservations about bishops by his wife, Sarah Van Briegh Livingston. After graduation from King's College in 1764 and admission to the bar in 1768, Jay married Sarah Livingston, daughter of William Livingston.[46] William Livingston was one of a trio including William Smith and John Morin Scott, all Presbyterians, who opposed vigorously the pro-episcopal scheme of Johnson and Chandler in the 1760's in the New York Gazette.[47] Whether Sarah shared her father's views about bishops is not known, but if she did, she undoubtedly shared them with her husband. In any event, Jay's influence on the settlement of the episcopal controversy reflects the distaste of the Presbyterians toward episcopacy, though his early Anglican training kept him from arguing the issue. Perhaps the presence of his son-in-law in the Episcopal Church councils moderated Livingston's earlier abhorrence of bishops, for "after the revolution, Mr. Livingston made not the smallest opposition to the introduction of bishops."[48] In New York it is probable that the marriage of a loyal churchman into a noted Presbyterian family and his subsequent stand on episcopacy cooled the heated tension that existed between two religious communions for many years.

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[46] Ibid.

[47] See footnote 19, chapter II.

[48] Theodore Sedgwick, A Memoir of the Life of William Livingston (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833), p. 149.

John Adams, armed with the correspondence of Lee and Jay, visited the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Moore, and presented the request of the General Convention for episcopal consecrations.[49] After he explained that his actions were of a personal and not an official nature, he discussed the problem of episcopacy in America. The one question which Archbishop Moore was most concerned about was whether an Episcopal bishop's consecration in England, would be viewed as an act of interfering in American affairs. Adams assured the archbishop that "the people of the United States, in general, were for a liberal and generous toleration."[50] Then Adams showed both the letters of Lee and Jay to the archbishop.[51] The reaction of the archbishop to these letters is not related, but he could obviously see that the American Episcopalians, in general, were very careful and cautious in their attitude toward bishops. The General Convention was not obsessed with the need for bishops, but it was desirous of retaining a measure of its traditional form of polity. Unquestionably the archbishop could see that the Convention was determined to control its bishops. With full knowledge of these facts, the archbishop favored the request, and Adams was able to report success in his unofficial ecclesiastical mission.[52]

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[49] John Adams to John Jay, 4 January 1786. Adams (ed.), The Works of John Adams, pp. 361-362.

[50] Ibid., p. 362.

[51] Ibid., p. 362.

Not all the Episcopalian state conventions complied with the General Convention's recommendation to elect bishops. Massachusetts Episcopalians decided to accept Seabury's guidance in matters of reorganization on November 15, 1785.[53] South Carolina held a convention on April 26, 1786, ratified eight of the articles in the General Ecclesiastical Constitution, referred two to committee for study, and rejected article six, dealing with the selection of bishops by the state conventions.[54] South Carolina felt this article was stated ambiguously so that it could be construed to give the General Convention authority to select a bishop for a state. Thus an amendment was prepared for the next General Convention, but the state convention rejected the article outright. There was no bishop selected in South Carolina. Also the New Jersey Convention which sat from May 16 to 19, 1786, did not elect a bishop.[55] They did not record their reasons for not selecting an episcopal candidate, though they were ready to cooperate in all other matters.

In Maryland there was apparently no state convention in 1785, nor was one held until October 24, 1786, four months after the second General Convention of June 20, 1786.[56] Naturally the Maryland Episcopalians did nothing to forward Smith's episcopal candidacy under these conditions. There was a serious attendance problem even in the 1786 meeting, for only six clergymen and five laymen attended.[57] The crisis in the Maryland church was probably due to growing disapproval of William Smith's personal conduct. Late in 1786 it became known that two laymen, Thomas Cradock and Samuel Johnston, and two clergy, William West and John Andrews, planned to prefer charges of misconduct against Smith.[58] The charges grew out of an alleged incident at the New York convention in October, 1784, where Smith was reportedly intoxicated. Rumors of the impending clash between Smith and his four accusers possibly prevented a state convention in 1785 and accounts for the very small convention in 1786. One thing is sure. Maryland took no action to advance the episcopal scheme of the General Convention on a state or national level. Although the charges against Smith were never proved, their existence was enough to prevent the General Convention from certifying Smith for episcopal consecration.[59]

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[52] White, Memoirs, p. 332.

[53] Journals of the Conventions - Massachusetts, p. 18.

[54] Dalcho, An Historical Account - South Carolina, op. cit., Appendix, p. 469.

[55] Journals of the Conventions - New Jersey, pp. 5-15.

It is impossible to tell from this distance whether Smith was guilty of the charges, nor is it possible to determine whether the incident was related to the determination of some Maryland laymen not to have a bishop in their church. It appears that the Maryland opponents of episcopacy could not have found a more effective way to scuttle the episcopal scheme for Maryland, as it was not proper to elect another bishop until Smith was convicted or vindicated and this would take some time. The laity apparently did not press the charges once they were made nor did they drop them. On the other hand, Smith was never officially cleared of the accusation though he vowed he would be, once brought to trial.[60] The result was simply that the way to procure a bishop for the Maryland Episcopalians was blocked and remained closed until 1792.

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[56] Notices and Journals - Maryland, pp. 16-20.

[57] Ibid., p. 20.

[58] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 338.

[59] Journals of the General Conventions, pp. 43-44.

At the very time the General Convention was gaining some support for its episcopal scheme, the adherents to Seabury's cause were growing more denunciatory in their remarks about the General Convention. Edward Bass of Newburyport, Massachusetts, deplored the attitude of the General Convention toward Seabury. "I have always been of the opinion," he admitted to Parker,

> that we never should coalesce with these gentry, and that it was much more natural for us to endeavour to come to a uniformity in these four Northern States. I could never learn that in any of their meetings and debates they have ever taken the least notice of Bishop Seabury. . . . For my part, I wish to have little to do with them.[61]

Jonathan Boucher, in Epsom Parish, England, in his characteristic blunt manner, castigated the General Convention with his own choice words. "The alarming symptoms appearing in the Southern States is indeed," he exclaimed, "very affecting, and shows a miserable deficiency in point of knowledge, as well as zeal, as could hardly have been suspected among any who had received regular episcopal ordination."[62]

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[60] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 341.

[61] Edward Bass to Samuel Parker, 3 January 1786. Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, p. 288.

As early as March, 1786, Jacob Duché in London, predicted a schism between the two factions of Protestant Episcopalians. Duché was the first to openly voice his fear that schism was imminent. "I cannot but lament," he wrote to White,

> the prospect there seems to be of so early a schism among you. Here we could not recognize Dr. Seabury's episcopal character. But with you there can remain but one point. . . the validity of his consecration. If something of this kind is not done, I fear an unpleasant disunion may take place, and put a stop to the progress of your church.[63]

Duché's concern over schism caused him to oversimplify the problem of recognizing Seabury by the General Convention. If the American Episcopalians recognized Seabury, a Nonjuror, could the English bishop receive permission from parliament to consecrate other bishops for America? A hasty move to bring about a reconciliation between Seabury and the General Convention could have blocked legally the way to episcopal consecration in England for Provoost, White, and Griffith.

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[62] Jonathan Boucher to John Skinner, 4 January 1786. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 204.

[63] Jacob Duche to William White, 25 March 1786. Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 290.

White subsequently confessed that he did not question the validity of Seabury's consecration, but he felt it was inconsistent to acknowledge Seabury on the one hand and on the other ask the assistance of the English bishops who were legally forbidden to recognize all Nonjurors.[64] Thus White based his resistance to Seabury primarily on political grounds, but Provoost objected to Seabury's consecration on theological grounds as well. Provoost did not explain his theological objection to Seabury's consecration, but openly contended that a Nonjuror Consecration was not valid.[65] The strongest of Provoost's objections was based on his hatred of Seabury's Loyalism during the war. When Provoost heard that Pennsylvania and New Jersey refused to accept men ordained by Seabury into their pulpits, he rejoiced. In his correspondence Provoost used his own cynical synonym "Dr. Cebra" instead of Seabury to reflect his contempt for him.[66] The intense animosity between these two episcopal leaders continued throughout the period of reorganization and became a major stumbling block to church union.

The growing hostility between the Connecticut clergy, their bishop and supporters, and the General Convention was evident when the second General Convention convened on June 20, 1786, in Philadelphia. The fourteen clergymen and twelve laymen elected David Griffith president and Francis Hopkinson, a layman, secretary. A motion was made almost immediately to recommend to the churches represented in the General Convention not to receive into their pastoral charges clergymen who were subject to any bishop except one duly settled in a state represented in the Convention. This motion was offered by White of Pennsylvania and seconded by Robert Smith of South Carolina.[67] The Convention left no doubt about what it thought of Seabury's activities, but when Provoost introduced a motion that the Convention do nothing to imply the validity of Seabury's consecration, it was defeated.[68] Thus there was a limit beyond which the majority of Episcopalians were unwilling to go in their resistance to Seabury.

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[64] William White to Abraham Beach, 6 May 1786. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 308.

[65] Samuel Provoost to William White, 20 May 1786. Perry, Half Century of Legislation, pp. 300-301.

[66] Ibid., p. 300.

In the second place, the reply of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the request for episcopal consecration was presented. The English bishops were favorably disposed to grant the American request, but they had heard about certain alterations which the American churchmen had made in their church government and liturgy and they wanted their questions answered. A committee was appointed to draft a reply and include a copy of the General Ecclesiastical Constitution and the revised Prayer Book. This committee was also empowered to call a General Convention whenever a majority felt it necessary.[69]

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[67] Journals of the General Conventions, p. 21.

[68] Ibid., p. 21.

The Convention next reviewed the General Ecclesiastical Constitution prepared in 1785 and agreed to six articles with a few minor revisions. Article five was clarified to specify that a bishop would be considered an *ex officio* member of the General Convention. The eighth article was amended so that at the trial of a bishop none but a bishop should pronounce the sentence of deposition or degradation. Articles nine and ten, which dealt with the Prayer Book and theology, were completely rewritten. Article eleven was changed so that a majority of the state conventions ratifying the constitution would put it into effect.[70]

The committee appointed to correspond with the Archbishop of Canterbury received a reply on July 4, 1786, which they felt warranted the calling of a General Convention on October 10, 1786, in Wilmington, Delaware. There were only ten clergymen and eleven laymen present representing five states. Two very important states, Virginia and Maryland, were not represented. In the absence of the president of the last General Convention, David Griffith, the secretary, Francis Hopkinson, convened the meeting. Samuel Provoost was selected to succeed Griffith, and Hopkinson was retained as secretary. White reported the reply of Archbishop John Moore and placed it before the Convention. A bill had been introduced into parliament by Archbishop Moore on June 16, 1786, to authorize the English bishops to consecrate bishops without the loyalty oaths, and it was passed.[71] Then the archbishop pointed out a few issues in the Prayer Book and General Ecclesiastical Constitution with which he disagreed. He particularly objected to article eight, which subjected a bishop to a convention for trial and dismissal.[72]

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[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

[70] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-26.

In the liturgy the Convention met the archbishop's objections half-way because it voted to restore the Nicene Creed, but it refused to reinstate the Athanasian Creed.[73] Then the Convention voted unanimously to retain article eight of the constitution without change.[74] Here they demonstrated a characteristic resistance to outside pressures in church affairs. The delegates did, however, draft a courteous reply to the English bishops, but they were unwilling to increase the prestige or power of a bishop for America. If the English bishops had made the alteration of article eight a requirement for administering episcopal consecrations, one can only wonder what the American churchmen would have done. The Convention delegates then signed the appropriate testimonials for Provoost, White, and Griffith in preparation for their departure to England.[75]

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[71] Ibid., p. 33.

[72] Ibid., p. 35.

[73] Ibid., p. 42.

[74] Ibid., p. 42.

After the Wilmington convention, White and Provoost sailed for England in November, 1786, and were consecrated bishops by Archbishops John Moore and William Markham, Charles Moss, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and John Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough, on February 4, 1787, in Lambeth Palace. On April 7, 1787, Easter Sunday, Provoost and White landed in New York.[76] There was no fanfare nor opposition, and the event went unnoticed in the press. There was, however, a cloud of uncertainty which hung over the future of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. Would the General Convention recognize Seabury now that two bishops of the English line had been secured? If the General Convention did recognize Seabury, would he and his supporters cooperate? Then there was the personal conflict between Provoost and Seabury. Could two bishops be brought to accept and respect each other?

Before William White left America, he made plans to meet John Wesley, the organizer of Methodism, and discuss the problems of the American churches. In the 1780's, the English Methodists were the evangelical wing of the Church of England and active in America as well as England. White was personally friendly toward the Methodists because in 1784 he with Samuel Magaw invited Thomas Coke, Wesley's superintendent of the American Methodists, to preach in Saint Paul's Church.[77] The friendly relationship between many Episcopalians and Methodists grew out of their common heritage. John Wesley always urged the members of the Methodist societies to attend the Church of England and receive its sacraments.[78] Furthermore, he cooperated with many officials and parish clergy of the Church of England and scheduled his preaching services so that they did not conflict with the established worship. Methodism reached America in the 1760's largely by Irish immigrants who had responded to Wesley. By 1768, Wesley received a call for preachers to serve the nascent Methodist congregations in America. In 1769, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor were sent, and Francis Asbury and Richard Wright joined them in 1771. As these itinerants preached from Boston to Savannah, they were frequently aided by the Anglican clergy. Devereux Jarratt of Virginia, Charles Pettigrew in North Carolina, Thomas J. Claggett in Maryland, and Uzal Ogden of New Jersey were noted for their Methodist associations.[79]

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[75] _Ibid_., pp. 43-44.

[76] Beardsley, _op. cit_., pp. 292 and 298.

During the Revolution, all the English Methodist preachers in America were Loyalists, as was John Wesley, and most of them returned to England. However, Francis Asbury stayed, and he, aided by the American converts, William Watters, Philip Gatch, Daniel Ruff, and Freeborn Garrettson, continued to preach. By 1784, there were forty-two circuits, and a total membership of 14,988.[80] John Wesley had requested the Bishop of London, Robert Lowth, to ordain his preachers for America, but the bishop replied that they were not academically qualified.[81] There obviously were other reasons why Bishop Lowth could not grant Wesley's request in 1780. A war was on and any ecclesiastical act involving America was out of the question without the government's consent. Besides, the Church of England had never officially sanctioned Wesley's methods though many churchmen approved his work and aided him. Lowth's refusal was one reason why Wesley decided in 1784 to have his preachers for America ordained by three presbyters of the Church of England. Thus, Wesley, assisted by Thomas Coke and James Creighton, ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey on September 2, 1784.[82] They left for America on September 18th, and Coke was commissioned by Wesley as superintendent of the Methodist societies.

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[77] William W. Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier, 1783-1840; Vol. IV The Methodist (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1946), p. 18.

[78] John Telford (ed.), The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M. (8 vols.; London: The Epworth Press, 1931), II, p. 240.

[79] Sweet, op. cit., p. 7, 9, and 11.

In December 1784, Baltimore, Maryland was the place where the American Methodists first organized. Here they adopted the liturgy and articles of religion from the Church of England as modified by John Wesley. But unlike the Episcopalians, the American Methodists did not admit laymen to their conferences. Furthermore, the clergy were elected by the clergy only and the superintendent had veto power.[83] Also, the clergy elect were ordained by their clerical colleagues and not a bishop in the Anglican tradition. When Francis Asbury, appointed a superintendent by Wesley, assumed the title of Bishop, Wesley's criticism was excoriating, but the American Methodists retained the title.[84] The organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church revealed that the members were willing to accept Wesley's guidance as far as they agreed with it, but they were not hesitant to enact their own ideas into the law of the church. Their awareness of the political freedom won by the Revolution was apparent in Methodism organization. With the exception of the appointment of preachers which the superintendent made, all other matters were decided by a majority vote of the conference.

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[80] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[81] Telford (ed), Letters of John Wesley, VII, p. 169.

[82] Ibid., VII, p. 238.

All the Methodists did not agree that their church should organize without conferring with their Episcopalian friends. Charles Wesley, John's brother, poured out his disapproval in a letter to Thomas B. Chandler. Charles was profoundly vexed by his brother's actions in ordaining ministers, and he preferred that the Americans resort to

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[83] Sweet, op. cit., p. 21.

[84] Telford (ed.), Letters of John Wesley, VIII, p. 91.

Seabury for ordination.[85] Thomas Haskins, a native American preacher, thought it disrespectful and improper not to counsel with the Episcopalians. In 1786, he left the active Methodist ministry.[86] Joseph Pilmoor, one of the first missionaries, turned Episcopalian and was ordained by Bishop Seabury, and Thomas Vasey was ordained later by Bishop White.[87] Another itinerant, William Duke of Maryland, was also ordained by Bishop Seabury.[88] Thus, the American Methodists' deliberate separation from the Episcopalians caused serious internal tensions and threatened further alienation. Although Wesley always considered Methodism to be within the Church of England, he apparently did not grasp the independent attitude of his American followers.

White secured a letter of introduction to John Wesley from Joseph Pilmoor before he sailed. Once in England White was busy preparing for his consecration and so he delayed trying to meet with Wesley. When he wrote to Wesley on January 24, 1787, Wesley was on his way to Dorking. He simply advised White that they could meet in a week or two for "an hour's conversation" if White was still in England.[89] Wesley was too busy to deviate from his rigorous schedule and White was too soon gone from England for he departed London on February 5, 1787. It was extremely unfortunate that White and Wesley never personally met and discussed the relationship of Methodism and Episcopalianism in America. It is too much to imagine that they could have resolved the differences in polity and ordination, but they could have set an example of ecumenicity among church leaders. Perhaps this would have preserved the cooperation between Episcopalians and Methodists which had developed over a generation. Neither man seemed to suspect that this might be their last opportunity to promote unity between two religious bodies with a common heritage. In 1791, when Thomas Coke revisited America, he proposed the union of the Methodists with the Protestant Episcopal Church, but the Methodist conference did not support it and the Episcopalians after deliberation took no action.[90] When John Wesley died in 1791, the last cord which bound the Methodists to the Church of England and its American progeny was broken.

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[85] Charles Wesley to Thomas B. Chandler, 20 April 1785. MS letter in the MHS, Baltimore, Maryland.

[86] Sweet, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

[87] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 256.

[88] Rightmyer, Maryland's Established Church, Appendix, p. 180.

[89] Telford (ed.), Letters of John Wesley, VII, p. 366.

The Connecticut clergy had felt the rebuffs of the General Conventions more keenly than the outside world knew. It must have appeared to them that union with their fellow Episcopalians was impossible, for on February 27, 1787, they met in convocation at Willingford to select one or more candidates to go for episcopal consecration in Scotland.[91]

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[90] Sweet, op. cit., p. 28. White, Memoirs, p. 343.

[91] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 293.

Their reasoning was this: if Seabury died or was incapacitated they would be deprived of episcopal service. They certainly realized that under these conditions the clergy and churches would naturally look to the bishops in the states south of Connecticut and to the General Convention. If the southern states obtained three bishops in the English line, they would be able to perpetuate the episcopal order in America, but the episcopal tradition of Seabury and the Nonjurors would die out because they did not have the canonical number of bishops to perpetuate themselves. In 1787, time and events were steadily working in favor of the General Convention and the moderate version of episcopacy it upheld.

The convocation selected first, Jeremiah Leaming, to journey to Scotland for consecration, but he refused because of ill health. The group next turned to Richard Mansfield, rector of Saint James Church, Derby, who also declined.[92] Mansfield was a Congregationalist converted to Anglicanism under Samuel Johnson in the 1740's. It is possible, however, that Mansfield was the quiet, devoted type of clergyman because he served the same church for seventy-two years until his death in 1820 and never seems to have been involved in controversy. Abraham Jarvis was then approached to accept the position of bishop coadjutor to Seabury and he accepted.[93] There were also intimations that if Jarvis were successful in his bid for consecration in Scotland a third candidate would follow, hopefully Samuel Parker of Massachusetts.[94] Since Connecticut claimed the support of the Episcopalians in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, she could set up a rival form of episcopacy with three bishops in the three or four northern states.

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[92] Ibid., p. 293.

[93] Ibid., p. 293-294.

Bishop John Skinner, upon receiving Seabury's request for Jarvis' consecration, saw that the proposed course of action would provoke further steps leading to schism. Skinner naturally regretted the rejection of Seabury by the General Convention, but he was not interested in any type of direct or implied retaliation. The reply Skinner sent to Seabury must have shocked him thoroughly, for in essence Skinner encouraged Seabury to coalesce with Provoost and White for the purpose of consecrating Jarvis. "We can hardly imagine," he wrote, "that the Bishops of Philadelphia and New York will refuse their brotherly assistance in the measure which you propose to us."[95] Actually Skinner proposed a merger of the English and Scottish traditions of episcopacy for the sake of church unity. This decision on the part of Bishop Skinner forced the Connecticut clergy to realize that sooner or later they would have to negotiate with the General Convention if they expected to perpetuate episcopacy in America.

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[94] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 343.

[95] John Skinner to Samuel Seabury, 20 June 1787. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 297.

White and Provoost were probably unaware that Seabury had tried to secure additional bishops from Scotland. Upon their return to America, Seabury invited them to join with him in a discussion of church issues.[96] Provoost ignored the invitation, and White replied that as long as Seabury felt the General Ecclesiastical Constitution wrong in its essential points there was no basis for a meeting.[97] It is entirely possible that Provoost and White missed a golden opportunity to advance the cause of church unity at that time. If Provoost and White had known the attitude of the Scottish bishops, it might have made a difference, but because of political barriers there was no open communication between the English and Scottish bishops. Instead White turned his attention to Virginia, where bishop-elect Griffith was having a difficult time gaining support for his consecration.[98] Thus the two factions of Episcopalians continued in their opposing positions for almost two more years without any outward sign of improved relations.

David Griffith had been elected bishop of Virginia Episcopalians in 1786, but he had received very little personal or financial support to further his consecration.

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[96] Samuel Seabury to Provoost and White, 1 May 1787. Ibid., p. 299.

[97] William White to Samuel Seabury, 21 May 1787. Ibid., p. 302.

[98] David Griffith to William White, 28 May 1787. Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 349.

The convention recommended to the vestries that they collect sums of money for the purpose of raising a fund to send Griffith for consecration, but three years later it was reported in convention there was only £28 S17 d10½ in the account.[99] Griffith interpreted these circumstances to White, "the truth is that some of the friends of the measure wish to prevent, if possible, the introduction of a bishop into the state."[100] Unfortunately, Griffith does not elaborate on the opposition he encountered, but the strain of the conflict got to him, for in May, 1788, he attempted to resign but couldn't because no convention met. Again in May, 1789, he presented his resignation, but the convention declined taking action on it and Griffith died a few months later, thus vacating his office of bishop-elect.[101]

G. MacLaren Brydon has attempted to minimize the Virginia opposition to episcopacy by pointing out that the state was in a period of economic recession.[102] This can be granted, but the records show that the conventions of 1786, 1787, and 1789 all carried a balance of over £100, and they were able to defray the expenses of their delegates to the General Conventions without any difficulty.[103] The state convention secured these funds by an assessment of $5 per vestry throughout the state and were apparently successful. When the potential resources of the Virginia Episcopalians are compared with those of any other state convention, Virginia, with one hundred parishes and fifty-seven clergymen, was far ahead of its nearest rival, Maryland, with forty-four parishes and thirty clergymen.[104] Yet Pennsylvania and New York, whose combined number of churches and clergy did not equal Maryland's, found the financial resources to sponsor Provoost and White. It seems, therefore, that the Virginia Episcopalians found an easy way to frustrate any episcopal plan while outwardly showing conformity to the tradition of episcopal church government.

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[99] Hawks, Ecclesiastical Contributions, I, Appendix, p. 27.

[100] David Griffith to William White, 28 May 1787. Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 349.

[101] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, pp. 371 and 390.

[102] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, p. 468.

The resistance to episcopacy in general and the "pretentious" episcopal claims of Seabury in particular was reflected in several local parishes as well as in state and national conventions. These local conflicts simply furnished added weight to the reasons that seemed to predispose the church to schism. For example, in 1787, two rectors in Maryland, Hatch Dent and Francis Walker, fought a furious battle over the validity of Seabury's consecration and the status of those whom Seabury ordained. Francis Walker, rector of William and Mary Parish, vociferously denounced Seabury and those ordained by him. In Walker's view, Seabury was not a bishop and his ordination was not worth "a fig."[105] Such public criticism naturally evoked a defense in behalf of Seabury from one of those ordained by him. Hatch Dent was rector of Trinity Parish in June, 1787, and an advocate of Seabury's authority. As far as Dent was concerned, "no human or secular power can invalidate an authority derived from Heaven."[106] This controversy ended with Dent's claiming the power of Heaven for his side, but evidently many parishoners in both parishes and perhaps neighboring ones were upset by this incident. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that the Walker-Dent encounter was the only event of its kind in Maryland.

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[103] Hawks, Ecclesiastical Contributions, I, pp. 17, 20, and 27.

[104] See footnote 3 in chapter 7 and 12 and 15 in chapter 1.

The state conventions of Episcopalians in South Carolina in 1785 and 1786 demonstrated their distrust of episcopacy. In 1787, Penuel Bowen, rector of Saint John's Parish, disclosed how a local parish clergyman felt about Seabury in particular and episcopacy in general. Bowen was a former Congregationalist minister who was converted to Anglicanism. For reasons of health he had moved from Connecticut to South Carolina, but he still maintained contact with friends in Connecticut.[107] In a letter to a friend, Bowen related,

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[105] Hatch Dent to Francis Walker, 26 June 1787. The Eathan Allen Collection, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

[106] Hatch Dent to Francis Walker, July 1787. The Eathan Allen Collection, MHS.

> my bishop is Dr. White of Philadelphia (not Mr. Seabury of Connecticut), who, I hold was made out of duetime, and from whom I never would have received ordination. . . .The bishops late consecrated for our chh - I take have no higher notions of episcopacy. If they had or have - I hope the good sense, a sense of religious liberty in particular of the laity, will effectually convince them they are mistaken.[108]

Bowen died fifteen months after he wrote his opinion about episcopacy, but before that time he had come to know the leaders of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina. His attitude was very likely a reflection of the sentiment other churchmen expressed verbally but not in writing.

Charles Pettigrew, who was rector of Edenton Parish, North Carolina, maintained contact with a former pupil, James Thomson of Charleston, through the 1780's. Thomson apparently conducted a private school, for he related his academic experiences to Pettigrew. However, he also heard the Episcopalians in Charleston discussing episcopacy. "Among your brethren," he told Pettigrew, "there are some whose hearts are panting after the gown and their heads aching for the mitre, or a more compromising system would have been adopted."[109] Apparently there was considerable discussion in Charleston about an alternative to episcopacy in church government, but the consecration of Seabury and the plan of the General Convention forestalled any attempt in South Carolina to develop an alternate source for ordination and confirmation.

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[107] Letter Book of the Reverend Penuel Bowen. South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina.

[108] Penuel Bowen to Mr. Dwight, 14 July 1787. Bowen Letter Book, SCHS.

One of the clergy of South Carolina, Henry Purcell, rector of Saint Michael's, Charleston, was violently anti-episcopal and anti-Seabury. Purcell was rector of Saint Michael's from 1782 until his death in 1802. He was so highly regarded by his congregation that they elected him a member of the vestry and did not bestow this privilege upon another minister for almost a hundred years.[110] The growing debate over episcopacy must have disturbed Purcell deeply. Although he managed to control his opposition in the 1780's, he had published anonymously in 1795 his pamphlet, Strictures on the Love of Power in the Prelacy.[111] This pamphlet was the most virulent attack made by anyone in the postwar era upon episcopacy. It is hard to believe Purcell could have written his pamphlet in 1795 unless he had developed much of his rationale in the 1780's. In any case, the 1795 General Convention felt the Strictures was so serious an attack on bishops that it conducted an investigation to find the author. Purcell was brought forward, and he apologized publicly, but there is no record that he recanted or changed his personal views.[112]

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[109] James H. Thomson to Charles Pettigrew, 17 February 1785. Pettigrew Papers, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

[110] Williams, op. cit., p. 49.

[111] Henry Purcell, Strictures on the Love of Power in the Prelacy (Charleston: Young, 1795).

The internal conflict over episcopacy in the mid 1780's was not confined to Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Some of the Connecticut clergy had had time enough to give second thought to their scheme which secured the first bishop for the American Episcopal Church. Ebenezer Dibblee, rector in Stamford, Connecticut, in June 1787, confided to a former S.P.G. missionary to Connecticut, Samuel Peters, that the clergy of the recent convocation resisted successfully an attempt by the bishop to alter the communion service by "dent of episcopal power."[113] By November, 1787, Dibblee, who admitted he was not one of Seabury's favorites, expected a "falling out" among the clergy. He described Bishop Seabury as one who "feels his own importance, is too impatient of contration [sic], too self-sufficient, and in his manner too overbearing."[114]

The seriousness of the internal strife among the Connecticut clergy was witnessed by two former S.P.G. missionaries, Roger Viets and Scovil Andrews, who had earlier fled to Nova Scotia and in March, 1787, returned to visit friends. While in Connecticut, Viets and Andrews attended a convocation held at Wallingford. Among the issues discussed was one for the suppression of all meetings of Episcopalians for worship without the presence of a clergyman. This was intended to eliminate lay readers, an action which would place the laity further under the control of the clergy. The ensuing discussion was so divided that the convocation could agree on nothing.[115] All was not sweetness and light within Seabury's own camp and unless the bishop was careful he stood to lose influence among his loyal supporters.

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[112] Journals of the General Conventions, p. 194-195.

[113] Roger Viets to Samuel Peters, 12 October 1787. Samuel Peters Correspondence. NYHS, III, No. 45.

[114] Ebenezer Dibblee to Samuel Peters, 16 November 1787. *Ibid.*, III, No. 53.

By 1788 there were serious problems within both the Seabury forces and the group supporting the General Convention. Neither faction was able to complete the canonical number of three bishops to perpetuate its episcopal tradition. White tried to persuade Parker of Massachusetts to journey to England for consecration after he realized Griffith's way was blocked. Parker refused and advised a union of the bishops from both sides, but his opinion was rejected.[116] Provoost informed White that he had had no success in trying to persuade the New Jersey Episcopalians to elect Abraham Beach bishop.[117] Since Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina were not willing to secure a bishop, it was impossible to persuade the state conventions representing far fewer Episcopalians to assume the responsibility. The Protestant Episcopal Church in America had reached a stalemate. Unless the episcopal problem was solved, the two factions would continue to move toward a final separation.

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[115] Roger Viets to Samuel Peters, 12 October 1787. Ibid.

[116] Beardsley, op. cit., pp. 310-311.

[117] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 376.

CHAPTER XX

DIFFERENCES RESOLVED

Just when a schism between the Episcopalians in the northeastern states and those in the rest of the states appeared inevitable,a few devoted churchmen took the initiative to negotiate for union. Jeremiah Leaming, the patriarch of the Connecticut clergy, wrote to William White and advised a meeting of the three bishops. Leaming's attempt to bring the bishops together probably had the informal approval of the Connecticut clergy, since he had been their first choice for bishop in 1783. "To reconcile differences," he observed, "when they are come to full growth, is attended with so many difficulties, that it seldom proves successful."[1] The possibility of a permanent division between the two factions of Episcopalians compelled Leaming to propose constructive action. When his direct appeal to White did not produce a meeting of bishops, Leaming persuaded one of his parishoners, Dr. William S. Johnson, President of Columbia College and a delegate from Connecticut to the constitutional convention in Philadelphia in May 1787, to intercede personally with

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[1] Jeremiah Leaming to William White, 9 July 1787. Beardsley, op. cit., p. 306.

White.[2]

The constitutional convention of 1787 exerted an influence toward union upon the Protestant Episcopal Church by its example and success in drawing the states into a closer political union. In September, 1786, a convention was held in Annapolis, Maryland, largely at the instigation of James Madison and Alexander Hamilton, to discuss the problems existing under the Articles of Confederation. The outgrowth of the Annapolis Convention was the meeting of the May 25, 1787, constitution convention held in Philadelphia to which twelve states sent fifty-five delegates. Two plans emerged at this convention: the Virginia Plan and the New Jersey Plan. The Virginia Plan emphasized a stronger central government, but the New Jersey Plan resembled the Articles of Confederation. A deadlock resulted between the larger and the smaller states which was finally broken by the Connecticut or Great Compromise granting equal representation to the states in the Senate and representation based upon population in the House. After a contest for ratification lasting more than a year, the Congress of the Confederation declared the Constitution ratified and arranged for a presidential and congressional election. March 4, 1789, was set as the date for the first presidential term to begin.[3]

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[2] Ibid., p. 318.

[3] E. Morison and S. Commager, The Growth of the American Republic. I, pp. 275-293.

Sometime during the convention William Johnson and William White met and discussed the problem of church union among Episcopalians, but no first-hand account of this meeting has come to light. Leaming was informed of the meeting by Johnson, who advised him that White's sentiments on church union were identical with Leaming's.[4] There was a misunderstanding, however, between White and Johnson or Johnson and Leaming, for in August, 1787, White notified Parker

> that our Convention, adopting the English Book of Ordination and Consecration, had made it necessary for us to adhere to the canonical number, - that besides this, I should be very cautious of breaking down such a bar against consecrations on surreptitious elections, . . . - and that it would be indelicate to the English bishops."[5]

At this point White still felt that three bishops in the English line were essential to the continuance of episcopacy, and to unite with Seabury on any other basis was improper. Perhaps the apparent ambiguity in White's position from July to August was due partly to Provoost, who stoutly refused to join Seabury or the Connecticut clergy.[6] In August, 1787, there was still hope that David Griffith of Virginia would soon sail to England for episcopal consecration.[7] Perhaps what White really agreed to in his discussion with Johnson was a coalescence with Seabury, once there were three bishops in the English line in America. Nevertheless, the moment of hope sparked by Leaming seemed to vanish as quickly as it had appeared.

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[4] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 311.

[5] William White to Samuel Parker, 6 August 1787. Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, p. 316.

[6] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 351.

[7] Ibid., p. 358.

By March, 1788, the Connecticut clergy as a body were pressing for a merger with the southern Episcopalians. Ebenezer Dibblee disclosed this mounting sentiment. "A coalition with the southern states," he admitted, "in religious concerns is wished for by the clergy in general."[8] Dibblee did not enumerate the reasons for this shift in attitude on the part of his colleagues, but it is quite likely they felt isolated from the majority of their fellow churchmen. Unless they altered their position they stood to lose the fellowship and support of a united church in any program they undertook. There was also a hint in Dibblee's correspondence that some of the Connecticut clergy regretted having endorsed Seabury's visit to Scotland for consecration. "I am confirmed more and more of the premature proceedings of Bishop Seabury repairing to Scotland for consecration," Dibblee confessed, "but I shall never encourage another tour of Scotland for to perpetuate the succession."[9] Some of the clergy, evidently, believed their bishop was an obstacle to union. Richard Mansfield, who had been selected to go to Scotland for consecration in February, 1787, and refused, urged the only possible alternative - a merger of the three bishops.[10]

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[8] Ebenezer Dibblee to Samuel Peters, 1 March 1788. Samuel Peters Correspondence, NYHS, III, No. 73.

[9] Ibid.

The resistance to bishops in the state conventions of Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina from 1784 to 1787 was known to the General Convention. The Convention had not attempted to pressure any state into selecting a bishop. William White, however, had personally encouraged David Griffith of Virginia and counted heavily on his success. In June, 1788, Griffith advised White that it was hopeless to expect Virginia to support a bishop.[11] The reason the state convention of Virginia never met in 1788, in Griffith's opinion, was to avoid taking any action to forward his candidacy.[12] His attempt to resign proved futile because the few delegates who did assemble in Richmond in May, 1788, never even elected a chairman. The stiff resistance Griffith had encountered since his election in 1786 was now evident to the entire denomination.

A month later White received word from William West of the May, 1788, Maryland state convention. West emphasized the evident lack of interest in bishops. "Our last convention was the only one," he wrote, "at which I have been present without hearing something of a bishop."[13] Maryland, instead of promoting episcopacy, established two Superintending Committees of five clergy and five laymen each to supervise the churches on the eastern and western shores of the Chesapeake Bay. These committees also examined and recommended men for ordination. The annual convention decided to elect its president annually by ballot.[14] The thirteen articles adopted by the convention of May 27, 1788, contained no mention of a bishop. The Maryland Episcopalians washed their hands of any episcopal scheme for the immediate future. In reality, they acted like Presbyterians who recognized no prelates above them, but reserved all spiritual authority for the assembly of elders, clergy and laymen, representing the local congregations. However, the Maryland Episcopalians stopped short of granting their clergy the final authority to ordain other ministers as the Presbyterians did.[15] It is possible that the Maryland Episcopal convention would have assumed complete authority over clerical ordination had not the episcopal controversy been largely settled in 1789.

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[10] Richard Mansfield to Samuel Peters, 3 June 1788. Ibid., III, No. 84.

[11] David Griffith to William White, 12 June 1788. David Griffith Papers, 1760-1789. Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia.

[12] Ibid.

Shortly after White heard from West of Maryland, he received a scathing letter from Henry Purcell of South

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[13] William West to William White, 14 July 1788. MHS.

[14] Notices and Journals. . .of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Maryland in the years 1783, 1784, 1785, 1786, 1787, 1788. No date , pp. 27-29.

[15] Robert E. Thompson, A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States, Vol. VI: American Church History Series (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1895), pp. 226 and 285.

Carolina denouncing the legality of the October, 1786, Wilmington Convention.[16] This convention had finalized plans for Provoost, White, and Griffith's journey to England for consecration. Purcell charged that the convention was illegal and unconstitutional because a majority of the state Episcopal conventions were not represented and the delegates who did attend from five states had not been elected for that convention. Robert Smith was singled out for strong criticism because Purcell claimed he selected a minor, unbaptized, John Rutledge, Jr., to represent South Carolina. The vital records are not existent to prove or deny this part of Purcell's challenge. Regardless of Purcell's insinuation about Robert Smith, his charge that the Wilmington convention represented only a minority of American Episcopalians was serious, for it could have undermined the authority of Provoost and White and perhaps provoked further controversy. White did not dispute the issues raised by Purcell; instead he concentrated on promoting union. Apparently Purcell did not gain enough support elsewhere to encourage him to pursue the subject.

The issues raised by Purcell were never formally presented to a General Convention, but the charge that the Wilmington Convention was illegal is a very serious statement. The accusation that a majority of the state conventions were not represented was true if Connecticut and Massachusetts were counted in the total number of states that had Episcopal conventions and South Carolina's delegation disqualified. But the indictment was not true if only the conventions which had previously cooperated with the General Convention are counted. In the 1785 and 1786 General Conventions, seven states sent delegations each time.[17] Thus a majority representation of states was four, and this would cancel the charge that a majority of the states were not represented at Wilmington to which five states sent delegations.[18] Purcell's charge that the delegates who attended the Wilmington Convention were not properly elected did not hold up because the General Convention had the parliamentary authority to adjourn and reconvene without requiring a new election in the interim.[19] What Purcell did point out, however, was that in 1786 the state conventions representing the largest number of Episcopalians, Maryland and Virginia, sent no delegates and looked passively upon the efforts to procure bishops. It is likely that had the episcopal scheme been frustrated in the period from 1786 to 1788 the majority of Episcopalians would not have been greatly disturbed.

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[16] Henry Purcell to William White, n.d. Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 371.

By late 1788 White was faced with the real possibility that he might have to coalesce with Seabury to get the canonical number of three bishops to perform episcopal consecrations. His shift in attitude is evident from a letter to Samuel Parker stating, "if there are any matters in which we do not think exactly alike, you may rely on it that there is an accommodating spirit on our part."[20] Both the tone and content of the correspondence convey the impression that White and those Episcopalians who thought like him were ready to reconcile their differences with Seabury. This was a cautious and in some ways a precarious move by White because he could have been misunderstood and suspected of infringing on the authority of the General Convention to handle the issue, but it was the only move he had left. Parker's response was heartening, for he reaffirmed the interest of the Massachusetts Episcopalians in church. He explicitly stated that their acceptance of Seabury's leadership did not require them to reject other churchmen. A complete merger did not seem likely to Parker, but he added, "still I conceive we may become so far united as to be one church agreeing in the general principles of discipline and worship."[21]

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[17] Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, pp. 3-4; 18.

[18] Ibid., p. 31.

[19] Ibid., p. 64.

Two points emphasized by Parker contributed to the process of reconciliation. First, he pointed out that there had been a change in the political allegiance of the Scottish

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[20] William White to Samuel Parker, 1788. Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 376.

[21] Samuel Parker to William White, 20 January 1789. Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, p. 325.

Nonjurors.[22] Charles Edward of the House of Stuart had died on January 30, 1788, and the only remaining Stuart was Prince, a cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church. Obviously the Nonjurors could not continue their loyalty to Henry. A synod was held in Aberdeen on August 24, 1788, at which time the Nonjurors voted unanimously to submit to the government of King George III and after May 25, 1789, to pray for the King and his family.[23] A bill was introduced into parliament to remove all penalties against the former Nonjurors and though it passed the House of Commons, it was rejected by the House of Lords. Not until 1792 were the penalties removed.[24] Nevertheless, the political objections to Seabury's consecration were removed, and in both England and America there was a lessening of resistance to him.

The second point Parker stressed was the need to adjust the requirement that every state which sent delegates to the General Convention had to send laymen as well as clergymen. "If our brethren in Connecticut are so tenacious of the rights of the clergy, as not to be willing to yield any part of church government to the laity," Parker asked, "why need that be an impediment to an union?"[25] If this requirement were amended, it was more likely Connecticut would send representation to the General Convention. A compromise on this issue would also serve to encourage the Connecticut clergy who were working for union to continue their efforts, and perhaps it might persuade Seabury of the earnest intentions of White and his associates. If the General Convention could be persuaded to alter article two of the constitution to permit a state to be represented with or without laymen, it was possible that Leaming, Mansfield, or Dibblee would attend the next General Convention.

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Henry Broxap, The Later Non-Jurors (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1924), p. 284.

[24] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 341.

Both Parker and White labored patiently to bring a Connecticut delegation to the next General Convention scheduled for July 28, 1789, in Philadelphia. Not everyone, however, approved of this policy. Provoost protested vigorously to White,

> an invitation to the church in that state [Connecticut] I conceive to be neither necessary nor proper. . .because it is publickly known that they have adopted a form of church government which renders them inadmissible as members of the convention or union.[26]

Provoost was determined that Connecticut should first alter its practice of excluding laymen from their convocations before inviting them to the General Convention. Unless someone could moderate Provoost's malevolent attitude, it was obvious he would be a formidable obstacle to any union involving compromise. Even if the General Convention voted for a merger and Connecticut responded favorably, no episcopal consecration could take place without Provoost.

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[25] Samuel Parker to William White, 20 January 1789. Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, p. 325.

[26] Samuel Provoost to William White, 24 February 1789. Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 381.

Progress was, nevertheless, being made, for on April 10, 1789, Seabury revealed to Parker that Connecticut was ready to act. "I believe," he wrote, "we shall send two clergymen to the Philadelphia convention, to see whether a union can be effected. If it fail, the point I believe will here be altogether given up."[27] It had been five years since a delegate from Connecticut had appeared at a convention of the middle and southern churches. The last time Connecticut had been represented was October, 1784, at the New York convention. Then John Rutgers Marshal attended as an observer. Five years later Connecticut was taking the step toward merger with the main body of Episcopalians it once refused to take largely because it wanted a bishop first. Now there were three bishops in the Episcopal Church, but they were not unanimous in their desires for union. Unless the overtures for union expressed by Leaming, Johnson, Dibblee, Parker, and White were reproduced and expanded by the General Convention there still could be schism.

Another hopeful sign appeared on July 23, 1789, when Seabury wrote to William Smith in a conciliatory tone. Seabury and Smith had been ordained deacon and priest together in Fulham Palace in 1753, but they had not remained on amicable terms.[28] They were on opposite sides of the episcopal issue in the 1760's and 1780's. During the Revolution they were on different sides of the political and military contest. On one point they seemed to agree, for both wanted to become a bishop. In 1789, however, their personal rivalries of the past three decades had become less intense with the passage of time. The transformation was evident in the affectionate mood of Seabury's letter.

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[27] Samuel Seabury to Samuel Parker, 10 April 1789. Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, p. 327.

> The wish of my heart, and the wish of the clergy and the church people of this state, would certainly have carried me, and some of the clergy, to your General Convention, had we conceived we could have done it with propriety. . . .I have, however, the strongest hope that all difficulties will be removed by your convention.[29]

Smith apparently did not have an opportunity to reply to Seabury before the General Convention met on July 28th. Nevertheless, Smith's subsequent conduct in the convention revealed a marked change in his opinion of Seabury.

By the time the General Convention met, it is likely the majority of Episcopalians shared the feeling of the New Jersey state convention of June 3-5, 1789. The most important item of business was the election of a delegation to the General Convention. A set of instructions was prepared for the delegates.

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[28] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 356.

[29] Samuel Seabury to William Smith, 23 July 1789. Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, pp. 332-333.

> We are unanimously of opinion, that the union of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and uniformity in its government, are necessary for its prosperity and welfare, and ought to be promoted by all Episcopalians, we do therefore earnestly recommend to you, to move for, and use your endeavors to effect the same.[30]

If the General Convention put the welfare of the denomination above the interest of each group represented, the controversy and tension which prevailed over the issue of episcopacy could be diminished, perhaps eliminated.

There were eighteen clergy and sixteen lay delegates representing seven Episcopal conventions who attended the General Convention which opened on July 28, 1789, in Philadelphia. Bishop White presided in the absence of Bishop Provoost, and Francis Hopkinson was again elected secretary of a General Convention, but because of illness another laymen, Trench Coxe, served in his place. After the opening sermon by William Smith, the convention examined the certificates of consecration for White and Provoost. Robert Andrews, a lay delegate from Virginia, reported that David Griffith was in town but illness prevented his attending the sessions. Then Andrews disclosed that Griffith had resigned his episcopal election for Virginia, and the Virginia convention had not elected a successor.[31] A committee was appointed to express the gratitude of the General Convention to the English bishops for the consecration of White and Provoost. One delegate from each state represented was appointed to a committee to review the General Ecclesiastical Constitution and recommend any alterations, additions, or amendments thought necessary.[32] This decision opened the door to compromise the issues which the Connecticut clergy would not accept in the Constitution.

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[30] Journals of the Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the State of New Jersey, 1785-1816, pp. 53-54.

[31] Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, p. 47.

The Episcopal clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire had passed an act requesting the General Convention and the bishops of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania to cooperate in the consecration of Edward Bass for their churches.[33] No immediate action was taken on the request, but a resolution was passed affirming the validity of Seabury's consecration.[34] Thus the General Convention went on record favoring the consecration of Bass, provided the bishops could agree. Six days later a series of five resolutions was passed which stated that a complete order of bishops existed in the United States of America, they were fully competent to consecrate a fourth bishop, the Convention ought to do everything within its power to grant the Massachusetts' clergy request, and Seabury, White, and Provoost were directly requested to perform the consecration. Furthermore, the Convention offered to intercede with the English bishops if White or Provoost believed their cooperation with Seabury in an act of consecration would violate any expressed or implied oath they assumed to the English bishops not to coalesce with Seabury.[35] William Smith offered this set of resolutions which supported the Massachusetts request and placed the responsibility for a union of bishops at the bishops' doorstep. Apparently the General Convention was not particularly interested in gaining a full set of three bishops in the English tradition if this meant further delay. At this time they were not interested in the fine points of the English or Scottish traditions, for they were writing an interpretation of episcopacy through General Convention action. Perhaps some of the delegates felt it would be better for the two episcopal traditions to merge rather than delay so that one tradition with three bishops could ignore or minimize the Scottish tradition at a later date. In any event, the General Convention based its action on practical considerations rather than historical or theological tradition.

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[32] Ibid., p. 49.

[33] Ibid., p. 50.

[34] Ibid., p. 51.

The General Convention again demonstrated its intentions toward Seabury by three other actions. In 1786 a resolution was passed in General Convention admonishing the state conventions not to do anything that would imply a recognition of Seabury's episcopal powers. This was aimed at preventing clergymen ordained by Seabury from receiving state endorsement for assignment in a parish or church. This recommendation was negated by the reception of three clergymen ordained by Seabury as delegates to the 1789 General Convention.[36] Joseph Pilmoor from Pennsylvania, Colin Ferguson and John Bisset of Maryland were seated in the convention without incident, and Pilmoore was appointed to a committee to prepare a set of canons.[37] There was no discrimination because of the origin of a clergyman's ordination in August, 1789. This was the same type of integration the Convention encouraged the bishops to practice.

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[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

In a separate decision, article two of the constitution was amended to permit a state convention to send a delegation to the General Convention with or without lay representation or with or without clergy delegates.[38] This liberalization of article two would permit the seating of an all-clergy group from Connecticut, but it also legalized the status of Robert Andrews of Virginia. On August 3rd, David Griffith, who had been ill for a week, died. This meant that Robert Andrews would have to retire from the convention because there was no clerical representative from Virginia, but the amendment to article two permitted

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[36] Ibid., p. 46 and Beardsley, op. cit., pp. 213, 256, and 329.

[37] Ibid., p. 51.

[38] Ibid., p. 61.

Andrews to remain a voting member.[39] If Andrews had been expelled at the same time that provision was made for an all-clergy delegation from Connecticut, it would have created an embarrassing problem. The southern state conventions were always dominated by lay members and to have one ejected from the General Convention probably would have produced a major upheaval. Lastly, article three was amended to create a house of revision whenever three bishops attended the General Convention.[40] After an act passed the Convention, it would be sent to the house of revision for concurrence. If the bishops rejected it, the Convention could still pass it by a three-fifths majority.[41] In the event three bishops did not attend a General Convention, the bishop who did attend would vote with his state's clerical delegation, but he could preside.[42] In neither instance was the house of revision or a presiding bishop granted the power to negate the will of the Convention.

A committee of three clergy and three laymen was designated to inform the Massachusetts clergy of the Convention's decisions, forward the same information to Seabury and the English bishops, and call a special meeting of the Convention when necessary. An adjourned meeting was set for September 29, 1789, at Philadelphia, and Provoost was requested to preach the opening sermon. In the short time of seven weeks the committee composed of William White, William Smith, Samuel Magaw, Francis Hopkinson, Trench Coxe, and William Burrows had its work cut out for its members.[43] A successful union appeared closer in August 1789 than it had in the previous seven years, but the consummation could come only if this committee acted promptly and interpreted correctly the decisions of the General Convention.

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[39] _Ibid_., pp. 52 and 61.

[40] _Ibid_., p. 61.

[41] _Ibid_., p. 62.

[42] _Ibid_., p. 62.

The committee first clarified the amendments of articles two and three of the constitution to Seabury. "The church in each state shall be entitled to a representation either of clergy, or laity, or of both."[44] This was good news to the Connecticut clergy, who wanted a union with the General Convention. Also some status was granted to the bishops by creating a house of revision and permiting one to preside in the convention if only one bishop attended. This was a far cry from the *ex officio* status a bishop was allotted previously. Next the committee tried to resolve a misunderstanding in Seabury's mind. Seabury was under the impression that the 1786 General Convention had rejected his consecration as invalid. Although a motion to this effect had been introduced by Provoost, it was defeated. Thus Seabury was informed, "respecting your own consecration and the Scots Episcopacy, we are persuaded that you have fallen into some misapprehension. . . .Nothing was ever agitated in this convention concerning the Scots Episcopacy, but the contrary."[45] Perhaps White and Smith forgot the motion presented by Provoost and the heated debate over episcopacy which took place in 1786. At any rate, the time to forget past hostilities and imprudent remarks had arrived.

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[43] *Ibid*., p. 64.

[44] Standing Committee to Samuel Seabury, 16 August 1789. Hawks and Perry, *Connecticut*, p. 347.

The English bishops were supplied with copies of the convention proceedings before the committee adjourned. William Smith, however, personally continued efforts to woo Seabury to the adjourned session of the General Convention. Certain members, he told Seabury, of the General Convention were working earnestly for union. He listed William White, Benjamin Moore of New York, and Robert Smith of South Carolina. In 1789, Benjamin Moore was assistant rector of Trinity Church, New York. Moore was ordained in 1774 and shortly thereafter became assistant to Samuel Auchmuty. During the war he was a passive Loyalist, but he was also a native American who remained after the war. The vestry of Trinity Church elected him rector after Charles Inglis fled to England, but a new vestry overturned Moore's election and installed Provoost largely because of his patriotic record. Because of his experiences Moore could sympathize with Seabury. The one influential member from South Carolina who promoted union must have surprised many. In the 1786 General Convention, Robert Smith was in the forefront of opposition to Seabury, but in the intervening years he reversed his stand.[47] Why Smith changed so drastically is not known, but his frequent attendance at General Conventions brought him into fellowship with White and his moderate associates. In 1795, Robert Smith was elected bishop of South Carolina, but local opposition to episcopacy was so strong that he could not administer confirmation.[48] Seabury was also assurred of William Smith's good will by an invitation to reside in the latter's home in Philadelphia with Benjamin Moore during the next session of the Convention. On the recommendation of Smith and White the College of Philadelphia granted Doctor of Divinity degrees to Edward Bass and Samuel Parker, and one was promised Jeremiah Leaming if he attended the September session.[49] These overtures of good will paid off, for on August 26th Seabury assurred Parker, "I have determined to go to Philadelphia, and hope to see you there."[50]

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[45] Ibid., p. 348.

[46] DAB, XIII, pp. 115-116.

In spite of the progress, there was one influential and determined opponent of the merger. Provoost emphatically told White he would not participate in the merger, and argued that the New York delegation had violated its instructions of 1786 by voting for the amendment to article two.[51] Technically Provoost had a point, but the issue he missed was that the overall mood of the Episcopal Church had changed from 1784 to 1789; he had not. He did not fulfill the request of the Convention to preach the opening sermon in September and claimed ill health as the reason. He did not attend the Convention at all - which meant the consecration of Bass was impossible. Perhaps it was best Provoost did not appear at the Convention because Seabury knew how the former felt toward him. A confrontation between the two bishops, one obstinate and the other self-sufficient, could have produced an unfortunate result and marred the optimistic mood of the Convention. Instead Seabury received a genuine welcome and responded by cooperating and concurring in the final decisions.

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[47] Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, pp. 19 and 21.

[48] DAB, XVII, pp. 336-337.

[49] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 364.

[50] Samuel Seabury to Samuel Parker, 26 August 1789. Hawks and Perry, Connecticut, p. 350.

There were thirty-one deputies representing nine states in attendance on September 29, 1789, for the session of the General Convention. Bishop Seabury attended, accompanied by Bela Hubbard and Abraham Jarvis from Connecticut and Samuel Parker from Massachusetts. Bishop White presided until the preliminaries were completed. Robert Smith made the first move to demonstrate the desire of the Convention to promote union when he proposed "for the better promotion of an union of this church with the eastern churches, the general Constitution established by the last session of this Convention is yet open to amendments and alterations."[52] After a conference with the Connecticut clergy, a request was made to amend article three to give the bishops the right to originate and propose acts to the Convention and negate any act unless supported by a four-fifths vote of the deputies. The amendment was passed with the stipulation that the House of Bishops must indicate to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies in writing within three days their approval or disapproval of a proposal; otherwise it would become law.[53] The Connecticut delegation wanted a full negative for the House of Bishops, but consideration of this request was postponed until 1792.[54] After Connecticut had agreed to these alterations, Hubbard and Jarvis were seated in the Convention, while Seabury and White retired to form a House of Bishops.[55]

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[51] Samuel Provoost to William White, 26 August 1789. Ibid., pp. 351 and 352.

From October 3 to 16 the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies met separately, revising the liturgy, Book of Common Prayer, and devising a series of seventeen canons for the Protestant Episcopal Church. Both Houses initiated proposals, concurred, and raised minor objections, but at no time did the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies override the House of Bishops with a four-fifths vote. A study of the Articles of Religion was postponed to a future Convention, and the Bishops were authorized to call a special Convention when they deemed it necessary.[56] A Standing Committee was maintained to await the opinion of the English bishops on the request that Seabury, Provoost, and White combine to consecrate Bass. If the reply was favorable, the committee was to make the necessary arrangements for the consecration.[57]

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[52] Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, p. 68.

[53] Ibid., p. 72.

[54] Ibid., p. 73.

[55] Ibid., p. 74.

The House of Bishops made only three rules to govern their proceedings. First, the senior bishop, based on date of consecration, was President of the House. A majority of the House of Bishops signing a proposal signified their approval. Third, a secretary to the bishops was selected from among the clerical members of the convention. Furthermore, the first bishops started a tradition of attending divine services along with the clerical and lay deputies.[58] The simplicity of these rules was in keeping with the dominant attitude of Episcopalians toward bishops. No attempt was made to develop an archbishop nor to wear mitres to distinguish bishop from priest. The participation of the bishops in the general worship services along with the other deputies was obviously meant to illustrate the spiritual equality of all men in the sight of God. The bishops also established the practice of settling proposals among themselves by a majority vote. Nevertheless, in the final analysis the bishops were still responsible to the General Convention and their respective state conventions.

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[56] Ibid., p. 86.

[57] Ibid., p. 86.

[58] Ibid., p. 87.

In 1767 Samuel Johnson and Thomas B. Chandler had proposed a "spiritual" episcopate for the American Anglican churches. By "spiritual" bishop, they meant a bishop who could ordain, confirm, and visit the clergy, but have no state function, title, or support. At the time Johnson and Chandler proposed their episcopal plan, no one was able to persuade their fellow churchmen that a "spiritual" bishop was all they contemplated. Yet the publication and promotion of the idea did serve a purpose, for it fostered the conviction of some that bishops should be only church officials. After the Revolutionary War, this was the only practical solution to the episcopal problem if the Protestant Episcopal Church wanted to continue episcopacy as a part of its government. In view of the war and its aftermath, it was fortunate for the Episcopal churches that Johnson and Chandler had failed in their episcopal scheme. If they had procured a bishop in the 1760's, it would have intensified the growing hostility toward Great Britain and convinced many people, within and without the church, that the office of bishop was being used to serve the King's interest. This would have made it much more difficult eventually to solve the episcopal problem. The resistance of a majority of Anglicans to the scheme in the 1760's demonstrated that the members themselves were not interested in furthering any scheme that would interfere with their established practices or tie them in any way more closely to England.

The compromises that produced the union between the Connecticut clergy and the General Convention did not completely satisfy the Connecticut clergy. Bela Hubbard, one of the delegates reported, "the terms are not altogether pleasing to us here, but they are the best that could be obtained for the present."[59] The particular point that disturbed the Connecticut clergy was the four-fifths rule whereby the General Convention was able to override the House of Bishops. Ebenezer Dibblee, one of Seabury's critics, derived pleasure out of relating that "Bishop Seabury did himself honor, but he returned with the loss of a fifth part of his dignity; as four-fifths of the lower house of convocation, made up of lay delegates, will carry any point against the bench of Bishops."[60] Although the Connecticut clergy tried to secure a full negative for the bishop at the 1792 General Convention, they were unsuccessful.[61] It was 1808 before the House of Bishops acquired the full negative.[62] Instead, the 1792 Connecticut convocation which had omitted laymen from its meetings, accepted them for the first time, and two were sent to the next General Convention in New York along with the clergy.[63]

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[59] Bela Hubbard to Samuel Peters, 5 July 1790. Samuel Peters Correspondence, NYHS, IV, No. 86.

[60] Ebenezer Dibblee to Samuel Peters, 6 November 1789. __Ibid__.

The English bishops did not reply directly nor immediately to the request of the 1789 General Convention to give their opinion on the propriety of Provoost, White, and Seabury combining to consecrate Edward Bass. Indirectly, however, the English bishops replied when in 1790 they consecrated James Madison of Virginia. On September 19, 1790, the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Moore, the Bishop of London, Beilby Porteus, and the Bishop of Rochester performed the consecration in Lambeth Palace.[64] This meant the English bishops had felt all along that there should be three American bishops in the English line before there was a union with Seabury. In 1792, Madison united with Provoost, White, and Seabury to consecrate Thomas J. Claggett the first bishop for Maryland.[65] No objection was registered with the General Convention from the English bishops, and in this case silence meant consent.

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[61] Journals of the General Conventions, p. 116.

[62] Percy V. Norwood, "Constitutional Developments Since 1789," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, VIII (September 1939), p. 285.

[63] Journals of the General Conventions, p. 113.

[64] Hawks, Ecclesiastical Contributions, I, p. 210.

The election of James Madison to the episcopate by the Virginia Episcopalians must have come as a shock to the General Convention after the first bishop-elect, David Griffith, had been frustrated in his efforts to achieve consecration. In 1790, Madison was President of William and Marry College. He had accepted the deletion of the divinity school from the college. Jefferson had approved of Madison when he was named president in 1779. Furthermore, Madison, unlike Griffith, was a native Virginian, trained at William and Mary, and well known throughout the state. He, too, had served the patriot cause during the Revolutionary War.[66] If anyone knew the local attitude toward episcopacy in the 1780's, Madison did and he would certainly represent that position. It is also possible that the Virginia Episcopalians had come to the conclusion that it was in their interest to have a bishop and have him represent them in the House of Bishops. Unless they were represented among the bishops, their influence as the largest single segment of the Protestant Episcopal Church would diminish. Thus in May 1790, the treasurer of the state convention reported £126, which was quickly augmented to £200 by the convention to cover the expense of consecration.[67] There is no explanation in the convention journal how or why the money appeared spontaneously, but it was probably evident to every delegate that a bishop was now in their best interest.

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[65] Journals of the General Conventions, p. 127.

[66] Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, p. 475.

The consecration of Thomas J. Claggett was the first time an Episcopal bishop had been so honored in America. There were two events which made this possible. First, the Massachusetts Episcopalians had withdrawn their request for the consecration of Edward Bass. Bass' first wife died on May 5, 1789, and within six months he remarried. The Episcopalians of Massachusetts, feeling Bass' remarriage came too soon after his first wife's death, withdrew their petition to the General Assembly.[68] Second, William Smith had returned to Philadelphia in 1789, thus vacating his position as bishop-elect from Maryland. In 1790 the Maryland elected Thomas J. Claggett, a native son, and requested his consecration by the American bishops.[69] As it happened, this was the only episcopal consecration in which Seabury participated before he died in 1796.[70]

The one man who stands out throughout the post-war reorganization is William White. Even the editor of Sea-

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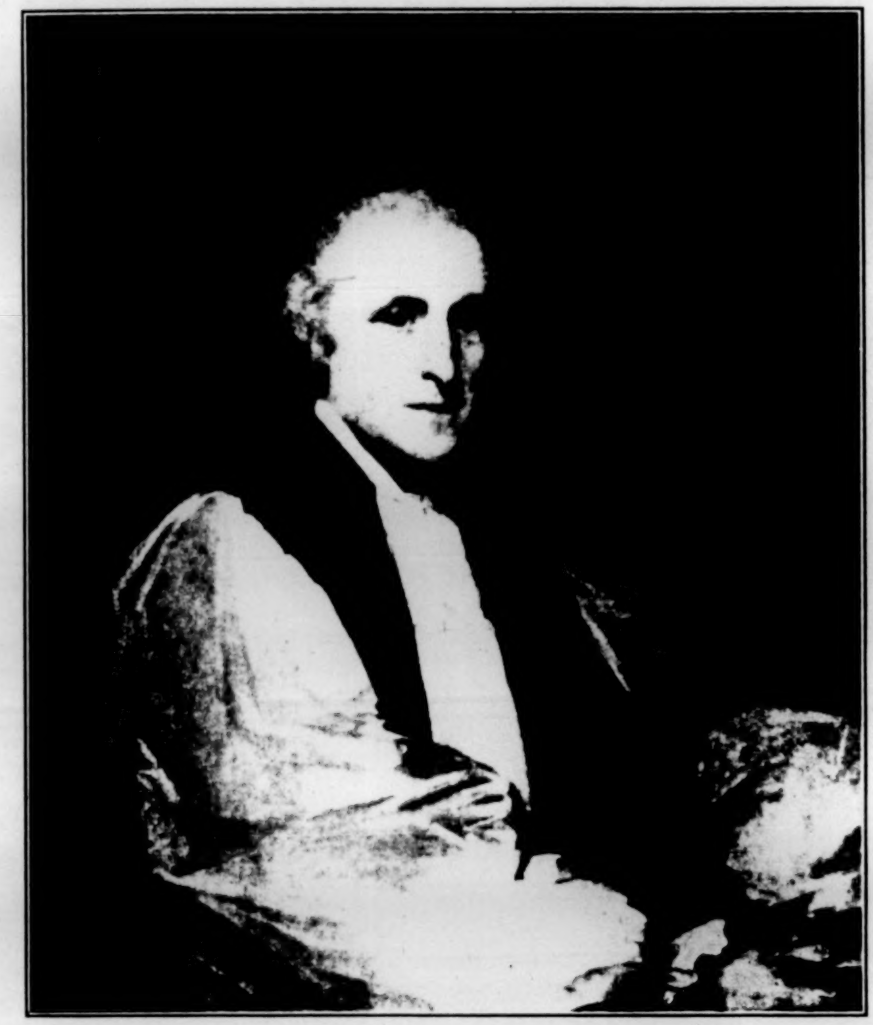
[67] Hawks, *Ecclesiastical Contributions*, I, Appendix, p. 31.

[68] *DAB*, II, p. 35.

[69] *Journals of the General Conventions*, p. 127.

[70] Manross, *op. cit.*, p. 201.



WILLIAM WHITE
April 4, 1748—July 17, 1836
SECOND AMERICAN BISHOP AND FIRST BISHOP OF PENNSYLVANIA FOR FORTY-NINE YEARS
February 4, 1787—July 17, 1836
PRESIDING BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH FOR FORTY-ONE YEARS
July 28, 1789—October 3, 1789
and
September 8, 1795—July 17, 1836

[This etching is a reproduction of the Gilbert Stuart portrait made about 1796, when Bishop White was 48 years of age]

bury's Memoirs, William J. Seabury, adjudged White "the master mind in the whole movement for union."[71] White knew how to take advice as well as give it; how to propose ideas as well as listen. He not only proposed a plan for reorganization; he demonstrated its workability in Pennsylvania. When it came time to negotiate with Seabury, White was wise enough to accept the lead of Jeremiah Leaming and agree to the compromises proposed by Samuel Parker. Also White had a sense of timing whereby he never rushed reorganization, but when it was time to act, he was prepared. The impression White made upon the Connecticut delegation to the 1789 General Convention prompted Bela Hubbard to exclaim, "Bp. White grows a better churchman and is a man of much humanity."[72] Throughout the 1780's White maintained a positive and open attitude toward reorganization. He personally communicated with the leaders of the Episcopal churches in every state. There is no record that he spoke one censorious word about any of his opponents or associates. For Seabury, he expressed the highest regard, though he did not agree with his independent actions. Finally, White was extremely careful not to offend the English bishop even though it delayed for three years the merging of the full House of Bishops in an act of consecration. It was largely because of his efforts that a friendly relationship continued between the Protestant Episcopal Church in America and the Anglican Church in England.

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[71] Seabury, Memoirs, p. 312.

[72] Bela Hubbard to Samuel Peters, 5 July 1790. Samuel Peters Correspondence, NYHS, IV, No. 86.

CHAPTER XII

MITRE WITHOUT SCEPTRE

The successful conclusion of the episcopal controversy in 1789 put an end to any major degree of internal conflict over episcopacy within the Protestant Episcopal Church. The conflict between the Congregationalists and Anglicans over episcopacy had ended in 1775 and it did not recur in the 1780's. However, the Episcopalians in the 1780's in the process of reorganizing their churches accomplished an ecclesiastical revolution in respect to episcopacy. For the first time since the Norman Conquest in 1066, the Episcopalians in America made a bishop of a major religious body the elected official of a convention of clergy and laymen. In the second place, the office of a bishop in a major denomination was completely separated from the state for the first time since Emperor Constantine officially recognized Christianity in 313 A.D.

In England prior to 1066 episcopal "election by the clergy and people of the episcopal city had been the primitive practice. . . .Hence the generally accepted canonical form was popular election followed by the appropriate confirmations, a framework which could tolerate most political stresses."[1] After 1066, there was a marked change because the Norman kings exercised a thorough going control over the English Church.[2] The appointment of bishops was a matter of the king's will. Under the Angevin kings it was a rare occurrence when a bishop was elected without the endorsement of the king.[3] Moreover, the bishops and archbishops had been intimately involved in state affairs in the Anglo-Saxon period and afterward. Usually a group of priests and clerks were employed at court because of their special skills. Medieval English bishops commonly attended the king's councils, acted as his agents, served as judges, diplomats, and court officials.[4] After the signing of King John's charter in 1214, the election of bishops theoretically rested with the cathedral chapters, but the king generally got his man elected.[5] In the sixteenth century, one of the English prelates, Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, served as Chancellor under King Henry VIII. Archbishop William Laud in the seventeenth century was long remembered for his loyalty to the House of Stuart in the face of Puritan opposition.

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[1] Frank Barlow, The English Church 1000-1066 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1963), p. 99.

[2] Ibid., p. 137.

[3] C.R. Cheney, From Becket to Langton: English Church Government 1170-1213 (Manchester University Press, 1956), p. 20.

[4] Barlow, op. cit., p. 129.

[5] W. A. Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1955), p. 9.

By the eighteenth century the power of the bishops had been reduced, but they were still an influential group and a political force in the House of Lords. The alliance between church and state was strong in eighteenth-century England.

There were Episcopalians in America who were well versed in English ecclesiastical history. An anonymous author wrote an article for the Virginia Gazette in 1778 demonstrating that he knew about the early church practice whereby the clergy and laity elected bishops. After reviewing the plight of the church in America, he concluded:

> circumstances unavoidable must soon leave us without proper or desirable persons for the performance of the duties of the clergyman . . . .Perhaps we shall be able to prove that episcopacy, as established in England at present, is one of the many encroachments of this power upon the just rights of the people, and that a free election to that office was not only the most ancient usage of that country, but also the true apostolic mode.[6]

The author cited Blackstone as evidence for his position.

> The learned Blackstone, in his commentaries, book I, chapter 11, informs us, 'that election was, in very early times, the usual mode of elevation to the episcopal chair throughout all Christendom, and that (says he) was promiscuously performed by the laity, as well as by the clergy; . . . .[7]

Emperors and kings, he argued, had overthrown this practice and taken control of the episcopal offices. Therefore, it was proper for the clergy and laity in republican America to reclaim the former prerogative of episcopal elections.

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[6] G. MacLaren Brydon, "New Light on the Origins of the Method of Electing Bishops Adopted by the American Episcopal Church," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XIX (September 1950), p. 207.

[7] Ibid., p. 208.

In his Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered William White used this same line of reasoning. Actually, White was more specific. "The power of electing a superior order of ministers," he wrote,

> ought to be in the clergy and laity together, they being interested in the choice. In England, the bishops are appointed by the civil authority; which was an usurpation of the Crown at the Norman conquest, but since confirmed by acts of parliament. The primitive churches were generally supplied by popular elections; even in the city of Rome, the privilege of electing the bishop continued with the people to the tenth or eleventh century.[8]

Thus there were a number of Episcopalians in America who were aware or who were made aware that they were overturning seven hundred years of ecclesiastical tradition when clergy and laity joined to elect bishops. Only the Connecticut Episcopal clergy dissented from this practice and made their episcopal election a purely clerical affair, but even they could not uphold the traditional ties between episcopacy and the state. Without the church-state ties even the Congregationalists did not fear Seabury nor protest his presence. In their attitude toward episcopal elections the Connecticut clergy were a very small minority, and in time they too altered their views.

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[8] Salomon (ed.), White, The Case, p. 24.

The disestablishment of the Anglican Church from Maryland to Georgia made it impossible for an Episcopal bishop to be a state official. The English bishops did not consecrate bishops for America until they were assured that the United States would not consider bishops as a source of irritation. Once they were convinced that bishops would not be viewed in an adverse light by the federal and state governments, they consecrated White and Provoost. In America the church-state relationship which had prevailed in varying degrees since 313 A.D. was broken, and every bishop was strictly an ecclesiastical official for his own denomination with such powers as the denomination allotted to him.[9] In this respect the Protestant Episcopal Church broke with almost fifteen hundred years of church-state tradition. In a real sense an Episcopal bishop in America was purely a spiritual church leader.

A purely spiritual bishop was what Chandler, Johnson, and associates had claimed they wanted in 1767. They tried in vain to convince the public and their fellow Anglicans that such a bishop would only ordain, confirm, and visit the clergy. The point that could not be explained was how such a bishop could exist within the existing Anglican church structure. This idea of the 1760's became a necessity in the 1780's if the Protestant Episcopal Church was to survive. Unless ordination and confirmation were available, the most basic functions of the church would be neglected. In episcopal tradition only a bishop could perform these rites. When the state and national conventions of the Episcopal Church had been organized, they defined and simplified the office of bishop in terms they could accept. When the process was completed, they had a purely spiritual bishop elected by the state convention, defined by the General Ecclesiastical Constitution, and amenable to the national and state conventions. A bishop retained the spiritual functions symbolized by the mitre, but the sceptre which symbolized the authority to rule and govern was removed.

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[9] Salomon, "British Legislation and American Episcopacy," XX, HMPEC, p. 293.

A comparison of the canons of the Church of England and those of the Protestant Episcopal Church will illustrate the changes that were made to render a bishop purely spiritual. The canonical basis for English episcopacy is found in the canons of 1603-1604. These 141 canons, with few alterations, furnished the guidelines for the Church of England throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[10] Many of these English canons had no direct bearing upon the American church, but others may be directly compared with the nine articles of the constitution and seventeen canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Canons 1-12 of the Church of England dealt with episcopacy and specified that bishops be appointed by the king and subject only to his authority though they were consecrated by bishops. The archbishops automatically presided at convocations and bishops at synods at which only clergy attended. No mention was made of the laity.[11] In America, the constitution allotted three articles to the subject of episcopacy, and three or four of the seventeen canons defined in certain facets the functions of bishops. It was left to each state convention to decide whether they wanted a bishop.[12] If a bishop were present, he served as president. The clergy and laity jointly had to pass on every measure pertaining to episcopacy.[13]

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[10] Archbishops' Commission on Canon Law, The Canon Law of the Church of England (London: S.P.C.K., 1947), p. 73.

The American attitude toward ecclesiastical courts differed completely from the English. Thirty-six of the English canons defined and described the church's ecclesiastical court system, consisting of archbishop's, bishop's, and archdeacon's courts. These courts were staffed by ecclesiastical officials.[14] Cases involving morals, wills and bequests, and the issuance of marriage licenses were handled by these courts as a part of the church-state relationship. In addition, a special convocation court was provided to handle charges against an archbishop, bishop, suffragan, coadjutor, or assistant bishop. The president of this court was a bishop, and all its members were clergy.[15] The Protestant Episcopal Church did not organize an ecclesiastical court system. The concept of bishop's courts was alien to the American churchmen, for they had never experienced one in colonial America. Instead, the colonial governors had handled most of the responsibilities of the English ecclesiastical courts, and the Episcopalians were happy to leave them with the state in the 1780's. An ecclesiastical court for an American bishop was out of the question. In fact, the constitution delegated to each state convention the authority to try a bishop and to include laymen as well as clergymen in the court.[16]

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[11] Ibid., p. 74.

[12] Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, op. cit., p. 76.

[13] Ibid., p. 77.

[14] Canon Law of the Church of England, op. cit., p. 74.

The authority to make canons, ordinances, or amendments for the Church of England was inherent in the convocation consisting of the Upper and Lower Houses of Clergy, but subject to the authority of king and parliament. The Archbishop of Canterbury summoned the convocation and presided, the bishops comprised the Upper House, and the deans, archdeacons, and proctors the Lower House.[17] Again there was no place for the laity. In America, on the other hand, alterations in the constitution or canons had to be initiated at the state or general convention. The convention set the time and place of meeting though after 1789 the bishops could call special meetings.[18] There were two houses: the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies. In the House of Deputies the laity were represented equally with the clergy. It normally required the concurrence of both houses to pass an act, but a four-fifths vote of the clerical and lay representatives could override the bishops on any issue.[19]

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[15] Ibid., p. 196.

[16] Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, op. cit., p. 76.

[17] Canon Law of the Church of England, op. cit., p. 205.

A bishop in America was restricted in still another way. In England the bishop or his chaplain conducted the examination of prospective clergymen. Apparently the English bishop's word was decisive.[20] In America, however, the canons provided for a committee of laymen and clergy to examine ministerial candidates and recommend them for consecration.[21] Also a prospective candidate had to have the endorsement of the vestry of the church or parish from whence he came, and this gave the laity another opportunity to pass upon their future clergy.[22] The conventions of the 1780's were unwilling to permit bishops to exercise any power they could rightfully retain in a representative committee.

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[18] Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, op. cit., p. 75.

[19] Ibid., p. 76.

[20] Canon Laws of the Church of England, op. cit., p. 151.

[21] Journals of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, op. cit., pp. 95-96.

A majority of states in organizing their churches used ecclesiastical terms that were more meaningful to them than consistent with English ecclesiastical tradition. For example, the words "convocation" and "diocese" seldom appear in the documents of the period. Instead the terms "convention" and "district" are more often used.[23] In 1785 Thomas B. Chandler advised the use of the terms "diocese" and "dean" in the Episcopal church in Virginia, but he was completely ignored.[24] Many of the terms of the Church of England denoting ecclesiastical rank were not even mentioned in the 1780's by the American churchmen. There was no place given in the constitution to an archdeacon, proctor, apparitor, or surrogate. The names and titles which represented the various rungs in the ladder of ecclesiastical preferment in the Church of England were rejected in America. The American Episcopalians modified their ecclesiastical terminology to please themselves, and in the process they demonstrated their independence.

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[22] Ibid., p. 95.

[23] Salomon (ed.), White, The Case, p. 32.

[24] Thomas B. Chandler to William White, 2 September 1785. Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 74.

American bishops were in every way more democratic than their English counterparts. The bishoprics of Canterbury, Winchester, York, and London were noted for their social and economic prominence. In 1762 Canterbury had a yearly income of £7000, Winchester, £5000; York, £4500; and London, £4000.[25] The bishops of these sees were influential at court and also in their archdiocese or diocese because they worked closely with the king and nobles in the filling of benefices. Unless a parish priest had the support of a recognized patron and the approval of his bishop it was virtually impossible to advance in the church. But in America White, Provoost, and Seabury served a local church as well as ministering as bishops. White proposed this in The Case because he knew the episcopal hierarchy of the Church of England was objectionable to most of his associates.[26] He personally remained rector of Christ and Saint Peter's churches until his death in 1836. Bishop Provoost of New York remained rector of Trinity Church, and Bishop Seabury was rector of Saint James Church, New London, Connecticut.[27] Virginia Episcopalians also required a bishop in their state to serve a parish.[28] Thus the early American churchmen were determined to make their bishops servants of, and not lords over, the church.

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[25] Sykes, Church and State, p. 61.

[26] Salomon (ed.), White, The Case, p. 25.

[27] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 285.

[28] Hawks, Ecclesiastical Contributions, I, Appendix, p. 23.

The English bishops were addressed as members of the peerage. Richard Terrick, Bishop of London, signed his name "Richard Bp. of London," and Archbishop Secker signed himself "Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury."[29] This style of signature clearly implied that the title or office was more important than the holder's family name. Samuel Seabury was the only early American bishop who imitated the English style. His signature, "Samuel Bp. of Connecticut," provoked Ezra Stiles to criticize him severely for his arrogance.[30] In contrast, White and Provoost used a much simpler style - "Bp. White" or even "Wm. White" and Provoost did the same.[31] In neither case was there any adverse criticism.

In the area of episcopal garb only Seabury wore a mitre on some occasions to symbolize his episcopal office.[32] This was the common headdress for the English bishops, and to many Americans it symbolized features of episcopacy to which they objected. White and Provoost never wore a mitre during their respective episcopal careers. Seabury was wise enough not to antagonize his Episcopal associates to the south after the merger in 1789 by wearing a mitre in the General Convention. There is no indication that any of the first bishops carried a sceptre. Possibly this would have been too much for even the Connecticut Episcopalians to accept.

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[29] Harold and Carol Schneider, op. cit., IV, p. 72 and Chandler, Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D., p. 201.

[30] Ezra Stiles, Diary, III, p. 173.

[31] Perry, Half Century of Legislation, p. 358.

[32] Beardsley, op. cit., p. 318.

The position which White maintained throughout his career can be termed, "Low Church;" Seabury was "High Church."[33] The 1789 constitution and canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church is to some extent a compromise between these positions, but by comparison with past precedents and the English church, the American episcopacy was decidedly Low Church. This was a natural development when one remembers that the colonial Anglican churches adopted many independent practices. The vestry had long been self-elected, and many of the colonial establishments permitted the vestry or the vestry and congregation to select the parish minister. In every colony from Massachusetts to Georgia there had been a growing trend among Anglican toward self-determination in church affairs. This attitude was aided and abetted by the prolonged neglect of the American church by the British government and the church hierarchy.

The episcopal conflict which developed in the 1760's, as Cross and Bridenbaugh have pointed out, was one round in a prolonged conflict between Anglican and Congregationalist over church organization. The chief significance of the conflict, however, was its demonstration that a majority of American Anglicans did not want a bishop. This anti-episcopal resistance carried over into the period of post-war reorganization. When the American churchmen were free to determine the type of episcopacy they would accept, the majority accepted the Low Church type advocated by White. In the process of defining their version of episcopacy, the American Episcopalians successfully concluded an ecclesiastical revolution.

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[33] Manross, op. cit. pp. 188-89.